5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

231 Indians who had never worked before, now tried to borrow
657 a mowing-machine, so as to put up some hay for their animals. The tribe seemed at once to have imbibed the idea of property, and each man was as fearful lest some accident should happen to his cows as any white man might have been. Another issue of cattle was made, and the result is that now there is hardly an individual in the tribe who is not the possessor of one or more cows. Scarcely any of the issued cattle have been eaten; there has been almost no loss from lack of care; the original stock has increased and multiplied, and now the Piegans have a pretty fair start in cattle.

121 This material advancement is important and encouraging.
657 But richer still is the promise for the future. A few years ago, the Blackfeet were all paupers, dependent on the bounty of the government and the caprice of the agent. Now, they feel themselves men, are learning self-help and self-reliance, and are looking forward to a time when they shall be self-supporting. If their improvement should be as rapid for the next five years as it has been for the five preceding 1892, a considerable portion of the tribe will be self-supporting at the date of expiration of the treaty.

461 It is commonly believed that the Indian is hopelessly lazy, and that he will do no work whatever. This misleading notion has been fostered by the writings of many ignorant people, extending over a long period of time. The error had its origin in the fact that the work which the savage Indian does is quite different from that performed by the white laborer. But it is certain that no men ever worked harder than Indians on a journey to war, during which they would march on foot hundreds of miles, carrying heavy loads on their backs, then have their fight, or take their horses, and perhaps ride for several days at a stretch, scarcely stopping to eat or rest. That they did not labor regularly is of course true, but when they did work, their

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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toil was very much harder than that ever performed by the white man. 461

The Blackfeet now are willing to work in the same way that the white man works. They appreciate, as well as any one, the fact that old things have passed away, and that they must now adapt themselves to new surroundings. Therefore, they work in the hay fields, tend stock, chop logs in the mountains, haul firewood, drive freighting teams, build houses and fences, and, in short, do pretty much all the work that would be done by an ordinary ranchman. They do not perform it so well as white men would; they are much more careless in their handling of tools, wagons, mowing-machines, or other implements, but they are learning all the time, even if their progress is slow.

The advance toward civilization within the past five years is very remarkable and shows, as well as anything could show, the adaptability of the Indian. At the same time, I believe that if it had not been for that fateful experience known as "the starvation winter," the progress made by the Blackfeet would have been very much less than it has been. The Indian requires a bitter lesson to make him remember. 121 181

But besides this lesson, which at so terrible a cost demonstrated to him the necessity of working, there has been another factor in the progress of the Blackfoot. If he has learned the lesson of privation and suffering, the record given in these pages has shown that he is not less ready to respond to encouragement, not less quickened and sustained by friendly sympathy. Without such encouragement he will not persevere. If his crops fail him this year, he has no heart to plant the next. A single failure brings despair. Yet if he is cheered and helped, he will make other efforts. The Blackfeet have been thus sustained; they have felt that there was an inducement for them to do well, for some one whom they trusted was interested in their welfare, was 121

while he and the majority, due to what he believed were misfortunes beyond their control, failed. In his old age, no longer able to work, he accepted old age assistance, leased his lands to white ranchers through the local office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which manages lands held in trust for Indian owners, and reverted to being more fully "Indian." He admittedly did not know the old ways thoroughly. He and his friends tried to pool their knowledge, to revive the old ways and to teach these to their relatively uninterested children. He spoke of the better days of the past, which to him were the days of his father's youth. These were the buffalo days of which he had learned from the stories his father and his father's friends had told during the evenings around the fire. These days were real to him not just legend. As he saw it, Indian life in those days was not a patched up thing of half forgotten bits of knowledge which he sometimes felt life to be today.

Albert Buffalo Heart represents a small number of Blackfeet tribal members I have known and heard about, one segment of the reservation population that shares a particular status, a belief system, a mode of action, a way of life that is not limited to, nor necessarily characteristic of, old age. There are younger men and women who approximate Buffalo Heart's knowledge, beliefs, and aspirations; there are other men and women of equal relative age who share memories with the old man but who think, believe and act in another world. I will introduce a few more "representative types" to show some of the varied adaptations and adjustments made to the environment of the Blackfeet reservation. The incidents described in this section have been altered in place and detail to maintain the anonymity of the people involved, but they are based on and retain the spirit of actual events. The quoted remarks and conversations are verbatim statements made to me in situations that were similar to the contexts that have been constructed here.

I met John Arrowhead in Browning where he was waiting for the mail—a lease check was due, he said. He had just finished a fence building job and said that he hoped to find another job soon, perhaps herding sheep or "rock picking"—removing rocks and boulders that had weathered to the surface in wheat or hay fields. John is a short, wiry man, dressed in denim pants, a cowbody shirt and boots. He seldom wears a hat and nothing about his dress appears to be symbolic of the traditional Indian. Arrowhead is fifty-seven years old, had completed seven years of school, and said that he had traveled widely. His travels, usually to work in the harvesting of crops or with cattle or sheep, had taken him over a great part of the country.

During the years that I knew him, the jobs were infrequent. He is known to be a good worker, is still strong and capable, but prefers to spend more time in town, visiting and drinking with his friends. Sooner or later during our visits he would ask: "How about helping me out until my check comes? I need 50¢ to buy some gas for my friend so he can take me out home to get my clothes." I frequently gave him money and then drove around a corner to watch what happened. John would stall around for a bit, then head for the bar. Many summer days are spent standing in the shade of a building, watching the passers-by, talking with friends, and trying to get a little money for wine. He is available if a job is offered, but that seems to be a secondary consideration.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

its own shop at St. Mary. Duck Lake in the northern part of the reservation has long been famous as a fishing spot and attracted its share of travelers. But it is becoming apparent that the tourist potential has hardly been tapped. Plans are well along for a major tourist complex, with a lodge, campground, dining facilities, bar, marina, Indian tepee village and other facilities on Lower St. Mary Lake. Some camping facilities are already available and others are being planned. Such enterprises will surely produce revenues for the tribe; how many jobs will result for tribal members is another question. Concessionaires often bring their own employees in spite of efforts by the tribe to guarantee these jobs to local people.

Head Start, Community Action Planning and other ventures supported by grants from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity continue to relieve some of the problems of the tribe; yet much needs to be done. I feel a sense of optimism about the future, but find this feeling difficult to support except for certain material signs of an improved economy—new buildings, homes, roads and services. For many people, however, the basic problem of a meaningful job and a reliable income seem as far away as ever. New industries help, but still do not provide jobs for all who need them among a growing population. Employment reports still show high unemployment and a primary dependence on firefighting and other seasonal and sporadic kinds of wage labor for jobs. Robbins's study of the Heart Butte region does little to allay these fears. He reported that only 50 percent of the cash income reported by the members of his sample came from employment, another 20 percent derived from land leased to others and 30 percent of the income for these households came from welfare funds (Robbins 1968:198). Heart Butte is not representative of the whole reservation, but may well indicate the economic conditions in the underdeveloped rural areas.

A similarly gloomy view is expressed by local people in an application for the support of a Model Cities Program:

> The lack of Employment Opportunities is basic. Year round jobs are scarce. Available opportunities in this area are mostly seasonal, thus throwing many workers into a low income bracket. This is true of Indian and non-Indian alike. Jobs that do become available are oftentimes accompanied with unrealistic requirements, i.e., setting educational levels too high, years of experience for the job too extreme, or emphasis on racial preferences.
>
> There are not enough diverse fields of interest—no technical challenges. Work categories are numbered and few. Economic resources are undeveloped to a great extent. . . . Training is limited particularly in specialized fields. . . . Poor work habits must be overcome as job and training opportunities come forth. . . . A careless attitude has built up along with the feeling of uselessness. . . .
>
> The role of the male is decaying in the home due to this feeling of uselessness. The woman has taken on an increasing role in family providing and management. The male role must be revitalized if there is to be job success. Learning skills would be an encouragement. . . .
>
> Low income is prevalent on the Reservation, particularly among Indian families. Approximately 62% of the resident Indian families have annual incomes below $3,000.00, and the mean income is $1,700.00. It has been estimated that approximately 3,000 persons receive some form of welfare financial assistance during part of each year. In the case of large families, the assistance standards are sometimes actually competitive with available earned income, since many local jobs, cowpunching for example, pay far below minimum standard wages. . . .

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Values of the White-Oriented Group

The category "white-oriented" and the characteristics by which it is defined in the context of the study, intimates that this group, in most respects, approximates the social structuring and culture of the American community of which the reservation is a part. The values of this segment of the reservation population are assumed to be similar to those found in a neighboring non-Indian community. The present purpose is not to analyze thoroughly either white-oriented or American values, but to establish that there is a similarity between the two, and to sketch the background against which a contrasting Indian-oriented value pattern stands out. The values can be abstracted from statements occurring repeatedly among the interview data, and they can be compared with some American value orientation about which there is agreement.

The values expressed in the field-interview data that appear to be most useful in separating the white-oriented from the Indian-oriented are closely related to those that were abstracted, in Chapter 4, from the speeches of governmental officials of the 1880s: work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness. These are highly interrelated concepts. Work is a means by which to achieve valued ends, in this case independence from others, the accumulation of property for self-security and the security of one's immediate family. It is also an end in itself. It is good to work. A man who is known as a good worker gains some prestige in the community. A white-oriented man uses these values as a measure of others whether or not he appears to practice them himself.

Some of these valued characteristics were indicated in the economic data gathered from my sample (McFee 1962:114–124) and some of those findings are reviewed to show that the values are reflected in actual behavior. Only three of the twenty white-oriented men were irregularly employed. Two were regularly employed at seasonal labor, but all others had year around employment. Again, the relative dependence upon family support and welfare aid appeared to be significant. Twelve of the twenty received no family support, three others did, but they were active participants in a successful family ranch or farm enterprise. Only one white-oriented man reported use of welfare.[14]

These figures, of course, reflect the influence of other factors, such as economic potential, relative age, education, health, and opportunity. But they are related also to motivation and to the degree of commitment to the white-oriented value system. The following excerpts, paraphrased from interviews with white-oriented subjects, illustrate some of the ways these values are expressed.

> I've been ranching all my life, and had to get a fee patent—they held me down. The reservation rules tied you all up. I'm independent and have trained the kids to be the same. I wanted to build up the ranch for the boys. Two of them

[14] These and the following figures, based on the answers given by members of the sample to my questionnaire are used to indicate some trends apparent in the limited data. Because of the small and incomplete sample it would not be safe to treat these trends as well supported generalizations about the whole population.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

183 461 are running it now. The youngest . . . isn't set up. He's working for the railroad, but there's no future in that. You work for them for forty years and all you have is a pension, and then you only work six months a year if you're lucky.
—mixed-blood rancher

I worked with a fellow about my age whose mother always complained. "My poor boy, always having to work." It made me sore. Why shouldn't he? I've always worked. I tried taking some time off work once and about went crazy.

The people [Indians] just don't understand what they're up against. They're looking for someone to take care of them.
—mixed-blood business man

No wonder the Indians are a happy-go-lucky bunch. They don't have to work. Lease money, per capita, and relief keep them going. They need to be put on their own and made to work their way out of it.

After I graduated from high school the old man talked to me and asked me what I was going to do. He said I couldn't just run around in the car, I had to do something. I've always had a job and haven't had to ask the people for anything.
—mixed-blood business employee

My parents emphasized hard work, honesty, thrift, and education. The Indians are clannish, but I'm more of a lone wolf. I'd rather take care of myself than to get help from the family.

I have fee patent title to my land so I can make my own deals without all the red tape and delay that you get at the agency.

The best days were under Stone and Campbell when everybody had a farm and was working.
—full-blood, self-employed contractor

183 871 Indians drop out of college because they haven't learned the value of an education. They can't manage their own affairs. In college it's all up to you. I have a tribal scholarship and work during vacations. I have an interest in the family ranch and help there and work for other ranchers too.
—mixed-blood college student

183 461 Many more clues appeared scattered through the interview data, and gained additional support from observation. White-oriented people prefer to be busy. They do not spend much time with the street corner groups. In fact a good indicator of orientation may be the time a person spends in such gatherings. Only the more elderly white-oriented men can stand or sit quietly and comfortably in conversation for any length of time. Most seem to have to be actively talking or listening. They jiggle their change or their keys. They look about more often and with quicker head movements than the Indians. In a comparatively short time the white-oriented person moves off down the street or into a building, off about their "business" or giving that impression, at least. The Indian-oriented on the other hand, can stand or sit quietly for an hour, two hours, or most of the day and do not feel compelled to talk all the time if nothing need be said. "Busyness" is not so important for them as it is for the white-oriented.

183 464 Often in white-oriented families both husband and wife hold steady jobs, and in some cases both are working and saving to develop a ranch or business

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

It was suggested that Indians participate in sports and rodeos because these were related to traditional Indian activities, and because Indian success in these activities had been given recognition by white people. Skills in these events are highly regarded by the Indian-oriented, perhaps for these same reasons.

The people of this group[A] gain subsistence within the white economic system so that work skills become important. For the most part the Indians must work to get money to buy the necessities of life and the other things they want. Work is the principal means by which to acquire goods and property, and competence at work increases the chances both of finding work and making more money. In addition, work skills are valued as indices of personal achievement. Indian acquaintances identify themselves and others with some comment about what a man is, does, or has done, and past or present economic abilities are included in this appraisal. Unemployed men, talking to a white observer, usually point out past accomplishments, jobs at which they excel, or catalog the land, stock, and other possessions they own that might impress the investigator with their personal worth. Remember that John Arrowhead recalled that he had been a "champion dancer" and "a good bronc rider." He had traveled and worked in many parts of the country, he said, and told many stories of his adventures during those times. He took me on a tour of his "land" to show the house, ranch, and stock he owned. The land was his undoubtedly, but all else belonged to the leaseholder.

This suggests another reason why economic skills, like excellence at sports, are valued by the Indian-oriented. They are aware that these skills and abilities are given recognition by their white and white-oriented neighbors. Not only do these accomplishments contribute toward earning a living and a sense of personal achievement, but they also enhance the image of "the Indian" among the white men.

The Indian-oriented value work skills but have not adopted the American appreciation of work as an end in itself. Some of this is reflected in the responses to my questionnaire. None of the eight men from the sample who were classified as Indian-oriented were regularly employed. Four of these owned land and earned some lease income from that; five received some financial support from other family members, while three had been dependent on welfare to get them through the year. Neither these nor the figures given above for the white-oriented are exactly representative of their respective groups, that is, not all white-oriented people are well off, nor are all Indian-oriented poor, but a comparison of these indicators does show the generally lower economic position of the Indian-oriented. The Indian works hard and well but feels no compulsion to work beyond the time necessary to satisfy short-term needs. Several factors contribute to this attitude, such as the irregular and seasonal jobs the Indian-oriented people are accustomed to getting, the apparent lack of interest in many things the white man considers essential, and the social restrictions on accumulation of property which will be discussed under the heading of generosity. Local, state and bureau school officials met to discuss problems of Indian education during one of my visits. Several speakers claimed that the Indian children were low on motivation and high on the scale of dropouts. One official recognized the value discrepancy when he stated,

[A] [i.e., the Indian-oriented group--Analyst]

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

"You won't achieve your educational goals until you teach the Indians to want what you want." The Indian-oriented value social participation, visiting, attending Pow Wows on this and other reservations, horse races, and stick games more than long and steady labor. You do not have to work endlessly if you prefer social participation to extra furniture, appliances, a lawn, and a savings account. It is difficult for persons with this attitude to win acceptance and high status within the white-oriented structure.

Wisdom, too, is valued to the degree that it contributes to the maintenance of Indian-ness. Thus knowledge of the old religion, lore, and rituals is highly regarded, even by the Indian-oriented who no longer believe in them. One informant commented, "I know I'm full-blooded and like to keep the old things alive." A woman was disappointed to hear that there would be no Sun Dance at the 1960 Indian Days Encampment:

> Indian Days aren't any good if they don't hold the Medicine Lodge. The dances don't have any meaning unless they have the Lodge. I'd take part if they had one. Even if you don't believe in it it's part of old Indian ways. You make promises to people. You have to help them, so you give things and help.

Modern knowledge is also good. But the Indian-oriented, in general, display an ambivalence in their attitudes toward education and it is difficult to isolate the many factors that inhibit Blackfeet progress in school. Among these would be the gap between home and school environments and the language problem. Children raised in homes where English is a second language do not have the reinforcing context of constant use to increase their language ability. Books and magazines, too, would not be available to be used to further develop language and reading skills. The effects of failure and fear of failure in relation to the Indians concern with self-image are also undoubtedly important. Motivation is limited by these and is not overridden by parental authority. The Indian-oriented may urge their children to attend school but, like the men the school official told about, do not order them to do so. As individuals, children have the right to make their own decisions—after they get beyond the age where the truant officer makes it for them.

The Indian-oriented leaders value the knowledge that comes from school and in general support the idea of education. The knowledge gained is valuable and necessary if the Indians are to deal successfully with the white man. Indians can combat white ways by learning from them,[15] but this goal is hard to translate into meaningful immediate objectives for the children. They accept the idea of schooling but find the subjects they study uninteresting and unrelated to any personal goals they might formulate. Many of the jobs available on the reservation do not require much schooling, so many Indian families do not provide an example of the economic returns that counsellors say follow a good education. A well-educated Indian-oriented leader expressed his thoughts on this problem as it related to college attendance:

[15] A form of antagonistic acculturation. See Devereaux and Loeb 1943:133–147.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

554 571 people of higher positions; they are often present but usually as onlookers. It is significant, however, that they are not isolated from their group as is often the case with the improvident white-oriented person. The low status Indian-oriented man 554 571 is welcome to attend Indian activities if he behaves. If he misbehaves he is eased out, perhaps locked up in the jail, but people do not disown him for this. They joke about it as if his actions were to be expected, and welcome him back when 626 he settles down. If he behaves he may be given a job to do, such as ushering, police duty, or helping with the serving of the food. He is one of them, perhaps a kinsman, at least a familiar person in the community and he is given some community support.

554 These men have much spare time and spend a great deal of it in the street corner groups. If they, or one of their friends, have a little cash or can beg some 461 from a tourist, they will buy a bottle of wine and get drunk. Such loafing and [273] drinking groups are made up of Indian-oriented people.

These men fill a traditional and expected status. The Blackfeet had, in the 554 past, a few improvident and unfortunate people who lacked the "power" to succeed. This was not held against them and it was a social duty to see that they 177 did not starve. The low status people of today are treated in much the same way; 571 they are thought of as unlucky and not entirely responsible for their condition. They may stir up trouble but the tendency is to keep the quarrels within the group; they are criticized and admonished but not ostracized. White and white-oriented persons let the more impersonal authorities deal with the low status trouble makers and expect public agencies to take care of the shiftless ones. The Indian-oriented group feels a responsibility for their own low status people. They are "our people" and "we" take care of them. Family and group responsibility does not end when authorities step in, and the improvident are cared for regardless of welfare. The aid may be given grudgingly but it is forthcoming.

554 INDIAN-ORIENTED MIDDLE STATUS The majority of the Indian-oriented group are assigned to a middle status that encompasses a broad range of individual differences. The same qualities requisite for high status count here, and conformity to Indian values is more important than economic condition.

These are the people who live the Indian-oriented life described in the previous chapters, who affirm the Indian-oriented values and both support and take part in the Indian-oriented society. The middle class actively supports the leaders of their choice in both the traditional and the modern spheres and differs from the lower status people because of their more complete involvement in the [626] life of the community. It is the attitudes, opinions, acts, and wants of these people that assign and validate social status; they are the Indian-oriented public that awards some people with loyalty and influence and penalize others with gossip, criticism, and shame.

This class includes people with a wide range of knowledge of and skills in the traditional culture, and in education and experience with the white. These differences in their knowledge and skills establish both limitations on and possibilities for upward mobility for these people. The poorly educated person cannot expect to gain high status of the interpreter type, and as a consequence they are most apt to follow the pattern established by the chiefs. There is evidence in the

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Eagle, with the help of white men, built two log cabins on Birch Creek, and White Calf, the head chief, followed their example. By summer there were ten Indian cabins on the reservation and these cabin-dwellers had planted forty acres of potatoes and turnips. My older informants said that most of these pioneer Piegan farmers were members of Running Crane's band, whose garden plots were on Badger Creek very near the agency. Although Young was proud of these achievements, he managed to temper his report of these humble beginnings with a realistic appraisal of the future.

> To extend these improved matters and make them permanent will require time, patience, and discretion. Many difficulties lie in the way. The Indians have no correct notion of continuous labor. It is rare for the same Indian to work for more than a few days at a time, and he is apt to stop as the whim or notion moves him.[12]

Agent Young dealt with many other problems involving his "children" which were not directly related to the major one of getting them to settle down and try to make a living at civilized pursuits. These problems involved their spiritual welfare, their physical health, their education, their tribal government, their relations with the traders, and even the relocation of the agency.

Young felt strongly that the lack of missionaries handicapped his efforts to civilize "these savages." He complained bitterly that the large Methodist missionary societies, which "do so much for India and China," had totally neglected the Blackfeet, even though this reservation had been assigned to their denomination. He organized a Sunday school and was delighted to hear the women in the brush cutting firewood "enliven their toil by singing our Sabbath-school tunes." But he felt the need of a full-time missionary to help eliminate the Indians' "superstitious practices" in such practical ways as by inducing them to see the physician at the agency when they became sick rather than to call upon the traditional medicine man.[13]

[12] *Ibid.*, 1878, 84.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

It was the chase on horseback that fully exploited the horse's ability to run faster than the swiftest buffalo. This new hunting technique was more efficient and adaptable than any method previously employed. Not only did it require a fraction of the time and energy but it was less dangerous and more certain of success than other methods. It could be employed by a single hunter or the men of an entire village. Within a few minutes a skilled hunter, mounted on a fleet, intelligent, buffalo horse could kill at close range enough buffalo to supply his family with meat for months. Yet the chase required no new weapon. The bow and arrow, and lance, both certainly known to their pedestrian ancestors, remained the favorite weapons of Blackfoot buffalo hunters until the introduction of breech-loading rifles, barely a decade before the extermination of the buffalo. The effectiveness of the chase on horseback was due primarily to the employment of carefully selected, trained, long-winded, buffalo horses. Consequently these horses were prized possessions. Their selection and training became important men's activities.

Once a considerable number of tribal members acquired buffalo hunting horses, hunting on foot became obsolete as a warmer weather technique. As the trader, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, shrewdly observed a century ago, "It is a well-established fact that men on foot cannot live even in the best game countries, in the same camp with those who have horses. The latter reach the game, secure what they want, and drive it beyond the reach of the former" (Wyeth, 1851, vol. 1, p. 208). Police regulation of the tribal summer hunt, which we have noted was a characteristic of pre-horse communal buffalo hunting, preserved the fiction of equal opportunity for all. Actually it enabled the owner of the fastest running horse to get first chance at the herd. It deprived the poor man, who owned no buffalo horse, of the right to hunt. It is obvious that under such conditions the poor would have been much worse off than they would have been under pre-horse conditions, when every family in the camp participated actively in the hunt and shared of its spoils, unless special provisions were made for their benefit. The Blackfoot adopted two measures necessary for the welfare of the poor: (1) the loaning of buffalo horses to the poor by the wealthy, and (2) the presentation of outright gifts of meat to the poor by successful hunters.

Undoubtedly the quickness and ease with which buffalo could be dispatched by mounted hunters released active men's time and conserved their energies for other activities such as warfare, feasting, and ceremonies. A relatively small number of hunters could supply meat for a band while other young men of the camp journeyed on prolonged horse raids. Certainly the ease with which mounted hunters

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

chase)."[125] These numbers appear to be extreme but they are borne out by information recently gathered in the field by the writer. One informant told of her great-grandfather, Chief Many Horses, who had twenty wives. This was in about 1855. Our material therefore suggests that the sharpest spurt in the increase in wives occurred after 1833, a period which coincides with the increase in the buffalo hide trade both in Canada and The United States.[126]

The possession of a large number of wives was a source of wealth and was therefore cherished by the Blackfoot. The missionaries learned this when they attempted to suppress polygyny. Said a Blackfoot chief,

> "Tell the priest . . . that if he wishes to do anything with my people he must no longer order them to put away their wives. I have eight all of whom I love, and all have children by me—Which am I to keep and which to put away? . . . "

The traveler, the Earl of Southesk continues,

> "This chief however injured the moral force of his remarks by going on to say that his eight wives could dress a hundred and fifty skins in the year whereas a single wife could only dress ten, supposing that she was always well, and that such a loss was not to be thought of."[128]

Since wives had to be paid for in horses we must briefly consider the relation of this expansion in polygyny to the accumulation of horses and the growth of herding. We know that the Blackfoot first obtained their horses from the Shoshone in 1730. When Henday visited the Piegan in 1754 he described them as mounted but makes no mention of herds.[129] The same applies to Cocking's description of the Blackfoot in 1774.[130] In 1787 Thompson describes Blackfoot horses and though he does not specifically mention herding he states that he saw a group of thirty horses and a dozen mules at the camp at which he was staying.[127] In 1800 Thompson was again with the Blackfoot but he recorded nothing new on this matter. But in 1808 Alexander Henry, the younger, writes, " . . . some of the Blackfoot own forty to fifty horses. But the Piegan have by far the greatest numbers. I heard of one man who owns three hundred . . . . "[123] By 1833 we find that Maximilian reports as many as 4000 and 5000 horses owned by one wealthy

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[125] Sir Cecil Denny, *The Law Marches West*, p. 51.

[126] There was a great disproportion in the sex ratio due to the increased casualties in warfare. In 1847 Father Point estimated that between two thirds and three quarters of the adult population were women. See DeSmet, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 952.

[128] Earl of Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, p. 155.

[129] Henday, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-338.

[130] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[127] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

[123] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

bided his time in marriage and told his friend, Flesh Taster, that "he was looking for someone suitable to him, even though she might be older." Finally he sought a vision and acquired medicine power. What money he earned he put into horses and proceeded to validate his prestige in the traditional way. He bought bundles "with the idea of being a priest some day." He had observed how comfortable a living "bishops" made, and he aspired to become one. Today he earns about $300 as a Horn priest and $600 as a medicine doctor, "more when there is an epidemic."

But the opportunities for remunerative work were scarce and few young men had either Many Rattles' ambition or foresight. Farming and what little herding there was may have raised the subsistence level, but they brought no substantial increase in income. The young man's position became increasingly insecure. It was difficult to get a job, it was difficult to get a wife, it was difficult to get a horse, and the prestige and advantage that followed the buying of ceremonial objects was therefore denied him. To find a place in the new society he had to revert to the patterns of the past, even when they were forbidden. The 1887–1888 report states, "War parties [were] composed mostly of young men from 16–25 years of age . . ."[87] These were raids upon the neighboring herds, and usually the Government cut short a brave career with a jail sentence.

The chasm between rich and poor was widening. When an old medicine man was asked, "Who is *istuisanaps*? Who gets respect?" he answered, "Those people who are born of rich people and maintain their riches. Also those rich in prestige from bundles and war exploits," and finally he added, "a rich man must have acquired his riches through earnest, honest, hard labor."[88] For today as well as yesterday "respect" is usually phrased in terms of war exploits and ceremonial ownership. It is therefore most revealing that this medicine man who spent his young days bucking the concentration of horse wealth in the first years of the reserve period, should feel his early struggle so intensely that only secondarily does he define "respect" in the traditional manner. His final remarks are perhaps an apology for the "new" rich who do not buy ceremonial objects but receive covert "respect" from the group. Earnest, honest, hard labor was not rewarded in a distant past.[89] Skill, daring, and ambition were more apt to have brought success.

CHILD STATUS AND WEALTH.—Children of the rich were set apart from

[87] 1888, Vol. 13, No. 15, p. 108. The report adds "Red Crow and the older men and chiefs strongly object to this horse stealing." In this, they followed a pattern at least as old as 1809. "The old men," reads the Journal of Henry and Thompson, p. 546, "redoubled their exertions to keep the young ones in order."

[88] Biele, Field Notes.

[89] Mishkin, *op. cit.*, p. 53, for a similar rephrasing.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

434 approximately $40,000 annually.[115] As early as 1902, the agent had written,
178 "these Indians are certainly industrious and never lose an opportunity to
make money at any work that may turn up."[116] And four years later the
[461] general report reads, "A complete change has gradually come over their
views.... The experimental discovery of the market value has brought
this revolution of feeling."[117] Completely forgotten was the fact that the
market value had been equally important to a successful fur trade in the
buffalo days, and that then it had also been a spur to industry and ambition.

311 SOCIAL VALUES SUSTAINED.—But neither the increase in wealth nor its
231 greater spread threatened the dominance of the large horse owners. True,
184 they were persuaded, at long last, to care for the meat needs of their fami-
556 lies from their own stock,[118] but the small dent made by these contributions
was quickly offset by other government policies. The flow of white settlers
into the area was steady, and it soon became apparent that "further expan-
sion need not in the future be looked for so much in the direction of the
increase of herds already in the hands of individuals as in the number of
those who will engage in the industry, because largely in consequence of the
curtailment of the hay areas ... and the gradual increase of cattle, a large
and growing proportion of Indians have already reached the limit of what
they could profitably handle...."[119] Ponies and priority had determined
the size and ownership of the large cattle herds.

464 Many a young man who could not acquire a substantial herd of his own
231 was drawn into the industry as a helper. His position in terms of the old
[465] buffalo days was in part reëstablished. Again his services were in demand;
again he was assured board, lodging, clothing, and if his employer were
[557] generous, a horse as an annual bonus. These helpers were often the younger
or poorer relatives of rich herders,[120] and they hoped for preferential treat-
ment because of relationship. There was little chance of riches in this work,

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[115] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[116] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 133.

[117] 1906, Vol. 12, No. 27, p. xxv.

[511] [118] In 1905, twenty-five men agreed to support seventy-five women and children. They handed back the $50 that had been credited to their meat account. (1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 202.) By 1907-1908, two hundred Blood, or about two-thirds of the
[657] adult male population, found it unnecessary to draw free food allowances. In that year the Government supplied the tribe with 273,000 lbs. less beef than it had five years earlier. (1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 163.)

[119] 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. xxvi.

[171] [120] A more or less similar situation exists among the Kazak. In discussing the helpers of cattle owners, A. E. Hudson (*Kazak Social Structure*, p. 27) writes, "These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who receive wages."

The male relatives were obligated to care for the widow. Women did own property, nevertheless, and might dispose of it according to their own wishes, but should they receive horses from a dying man, a close male relative would be obliged to care for this property.

Under the violent fluctuation of economic fortunes due to enemy raids, uncontrolled livestock disease and severe winters, inheritance was usually not a very significant factor in Blackfoot social life. Though there are notorious cases where young men remained idly in camp because they had inherited sufficient horses to make the warpath unnecessary, such cases stand out by dint of their rarity. Most obligations were settled prior to death, and in mourning dissipation of the property was speedy, relatives and nonrelatives alike not unwilling to be present at the distraught hand-outs of the dead man's possessions. Then the immediate kinsmen were left to mourn, stripped of property, themselves careless of what happened. Nevertheless, in distributing the property, the prior obligations to siblings as compared with own children is striking.

Throughout life reciprocal obligations between brothers was stressed. In childhood the older brother was responsible for introducing a younger brother into the boy's life of the camps. Later he took his younger brother on his first war party. As repayment for this instruction, the younger brother would give a sizable fraction of his booty to the older, and this practice would continue indefinitely after the young man had showed his capability of independent fighting. Once established as a warrior, the young man would take a still younger sibling on war parties, in order to instruct him. This practice established a chain of obligations to repay older brothers and instruct younger brothers who in their turn would repay their instructors.

Competition for honors was a potentially disintegrating force in the relations between brothers, but this system of obligations solidified fraternal relations. In this light the prior obligations to brothers over sons is to be understood: A man's son normally received aid not from his father but from his father's younger brother who would ordinarily be the son's "older brother." Thus interaction in certain spheres was greater with members of adjacent age grades than with one's parents. This was particularly true with reference to economic exchange, and these economic obligations continued through life, finally to be expressed in a man's last words on his deathbed. The main exception to this rule was with a favored child, where the father himself chose to assume the rôle normally falling to an older brother. In accordance with such sentimental ties, the favored child usually received the bulk of a man's property, in contrast to the usual emphasis on sibling solidarity which succeeded in channeling property toward siblings.

Residence after marriage also assumed no specific forms. Not only might

1905-1920

657 Progress in stock raising continued through 1905 and 1906.
427 The Agent persistently attempted to keep encroaching herds off Indian
[233] pastures, and continued a practice begun in 1904 of issuing leases and permits to both white and Indian stockmen for grazing privileges on tribal lands.[112]

657 The economic growth was again reversed by a severe winter in
731 1906 and 1907. The losses among the stock were heavy and "impoverished
[233] some of the industrious and worthy members of the tribe."[113] An
[433] investigation into conditions on the reservation was ordered, and the investigating officer's report sheds some light on the progress of economic adaptation to that time.

[461] He reported that the mixed bloods--about three-eights of the
[563] tribe--were able generally to take care of themselves, but the full bloods as a rule had little knowledge of ranch or farm work, were unwilling to stay a reasonable length of time in one place or to work where they could not be in parties, were very apt to quit on little or no provocation and regardless of the interests of the employer . . . .[114]

657 A Federal act of March 1907 provided for the allotment in
425 severalty of the Blackfeet reservation. Each tribal member would receive 280 acres of grazing land and 40 acres of irrigable land, or 320 acres of grazing land only. Surplus lands would be opened for

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[112] The first such permit recorded was a five-year lease of 2,400 acres to the Conrad Investment Company (Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1904, p. 77). An increasing number of leases are reported for most of the following years.

[113] Ibid., 1907, pp. 13-14. [114] Ibid.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

657 A drought cycle began in 1917 and continued for four years.[123]
433 The end of the war, in 1919, resulted in the loss of markets. The
[731] drought and falling prices brought bankruptcy to both cattlemen and
[458] farmers in this part of Montana by 1919 and 1920. Veterans returned to
[464] swell the labor force. The Blackfeet shared in this change. The white homesteaders and cattlemen could abandon their places and go elsewhere; the Indian could not and had to rely again upon the government.[124] The Indian, however, did have the Agency to turn to, an advantage not shared by the white man. During the winter of 1920-1921 rations were issued to "over 2,000, or about two-thirds of the entire population."[125] Several informants reported that their families and friends were ruined at this
[461] time. A few were able to make a comeback, but many abandoned their ranches and did not try again.

657 In 1919, a second allotment of reservation lands was authorized
425 in the annual appropriation bill for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[126] After this no further allotments in severalty were made to the Blackfeet Indians.

433 The Blackfeet generally were again dependent. Thirty-five years
461 of attempted economic readaptation were behind them. They had tried
[233] farming and found it unrewarding. They had found satisfaction in stock raising, but only a few were able to succeed at this in the face of cold

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[123] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1921, p. 55; Daniel W. Whetstone, Frontier Editor (New York: Hastings House Publishers, Inc., 1956), pp. 145-146.

[124] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1921, p. 56.

[125] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1922, p. 12

[126] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1919, XLI, pp. 16-17.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

433 winters, periods of drought, and the fluctuating markets regulated by
[461] national and international conditions. Large numbers of younger men
[233] had been employed in seasonal labor, railway and irrigation construction
[464] work, harvesting and ranch labor and had served in the armed forces.
These jobs provided some cash income but no training for long-range
[427] adaptation. Unused allotments were leased to others to provide another
small cash return to the Indian owner. Many people depended entirely
upon the rations issued and the cash that could be earned by wage work
or leasing of land.

179 Periodic crop failures and price fluctuations made it difficult
461 for the Indian to understand or to develop faith in long-range plans.
Each government program offered future rewards and security, but the
promised rewards never materialized; the only tangible things were cash,
rations and relief. The white man's values of thrift and hard work had
been developed and maintained by a better than average experience of
success; few Blackfeet, by 1920, had experienced enough consistent
reward to become imbued with these values. Every ten years or so their
best efforts had resulted in failure.

1920-1935

433 The next fifteen years were in many ways a repetition of the
past, and reinforced more than they changed the expectation patterns.
[458] Montana farmers, generally, experienced a severe depression during this
[731] time[127] and this was capped by the national depression and the droughts
of the Dust Bowl years that began in 1929 and 1930.[128]

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[127] The Montana Almanac, op. cit., p. 122.

[128] Ross K. Toole, Montana: An Uncommon Land (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 240.

184 The present purpose is not to analyze thoroughly either white-oriented
177 or American values, but to establish that there is a similarity
121 between the two, and to sketch the background against which a contrast-
128 ing Indian-oriented value pattern stands out. The values can be abstracted from statements occurring repeatedly among the interview data, and they can be compared with some American value orientations about which there is agreement.

184 The values expressed in the field interview data that appear
177 to be most useful in separating the two groups are closely related to
183 those that were abstracted, in Chapter V, from the speeches of govern-
461 mental officials of the 1880's: work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness. These are highly interrelated concepts. Work is a means by which to achieve independence from others and to accumulate property for self-security and the security of one's immediate family. It is also an end in itself. It is good to work. A man who is known as a good worker gains some prestige in the community. A white-oriented man uses these values as a measure of others whether or not he appears to practice them.

Some of these value characteristics are reflected in the economic data analyzed in Chapter VIII. Only three of the twenty white-oriented men are irregularly employed. Two are regularly employed at seasonal labor, but all others have year around employment. Again, the relative dependence upon family support and welfare aid appears to be significant. Twelve of the twenty receive no family support, three others do, but they are active participants in a successful family ranch

177 or farm enterprise. Only one white-oriented man reported use of
184 welfare.[178]
183
461

These figures, of course, reflect the influence of other factors, such as economic potential, relative age, education, health, and opportunity. But they are related also to motivation and to the degree
177 of commitment to the white-oriented value system. The following
184 excerpts, paraphrased from interviews with white-oriented subjects,
183 illustrate some of the ways these values are expressed.
829
461

> I've been ranching all my life, and had to get a fee patent--they held me down. The reservation rules tied you all up. I'm independent and have trained the kids to be the same. I wanted to build up the ranch for the boys. Two of them are running it now. The youngest . . . isn't set up. He's working for the railroad, but there's no future in that. You work for them for forty years and all you have is a pension, and then you only work six months a year if you're lucky. (8-25)

> I worked with a fellow about my age whose mother always complained. "My poor boy, always having to work." It made me sore. Why shouldn't he? I've always worked. I tried taking some time off work once and about went crazy.
>
> The people [Indians] just don't understand what they're up against. They're looking for someone to take care of them. (mixed-blood business man)

> No wonder the Indians are a happy-go-lucky bunch. They don't have to work. Lease money, per capita, and relief keep them going. They need to be put on their own and made to work their way out of it.
>
> After I graduated from high school the old man talked to me and asked me what I was going to do. He said I couldn't

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[128] [178] These and the following figures, based on the answers given by members of the probability sample to questions on the Sociocultural Schedule, are used to indicate some trends apparent in the limited data. Because of the small and incomplete sample it would not be safe to treat these trends as well supported generalizations about the whole population.

177 Just run around in the car, I had to do something. I've always had a job and haven't had to ask the people for anything.
184 (mixed-blood business employee)

183 My parents emphasized hard work, honesty, thrift, and education.
829 The Indians are clannish, but I'm more of a lone wolf. I'd rather take care of myself than to get help from the family.
461 I have fee patent title to my land so I can make my own deals without all the red tape and delay that you get at the Agency.
The best days were under Stone and Campbell when everybody had a farm and were working. (S-38)

Indians drop out of college because they haven't learned the value of an education. They can't manage their own affairs. In college its all up to you. I have a tribal scholarship and work during vacations. I have an interest in the family ranch and help there and work for other ranchers too. (S-7)

184 Many more clues appear scattered through the interview data,
177 and gained additional support from observation. White-oriented people
183 prefer to be busy. They do not spend much time with the street corner
[461] groups. Often both husband and wife hold steady jobs and in some cases,
both are working and saving to develop a ranch or business for future
[871] economic independence. White-oriented persons are more concerned about
the education and future of their children; they encourage them to go
[511] on to college, or to get other training beyond high school. They give
more attention to improving their homes, and feel the need to acquire
and better maintain furniture, appliances, equipment, and automobiles.
They early encourage their children to take some responsibility, to
work, and to plan for their future.

177 The values expressed in the interviews and observations are
183 similar, in kind, to those commonly attributed to middle class Americans.
171 The emphasis upon, and appreciation of work, self-dependence, individual-
ism, and acquisitiveness noted in the above quotations, and the
additional characteristics of concern for education and for the future,

177 But in modern life the opportunities for achieving distinction by the
184 regular exhibition of bravery are limited. This quality contributes to
183 success in occasional fights, sports and rodeos, and in some kinds of employment--the ranch hand and the fire fighter often have their bravery tested. But it is no longer a chief requisite for economic and social achievement. Other attributes are given greater recognition.

[186] Skill is important today. Because Indian identification is the goal, abilities that contribute to this end are valued by the Indian-oriented; dancing, singing, art, crafts, and oratorical skills are recognized as important to the expression of ethnic identity.

It was suggested that Indians participate in sports and rodeos because these were related to traditional Indian activities, and because Indian success in these activities had been given recognition by white people. Skills in these events are highly regarded by the Indian-oriented and perhaps for these same reasons.

177 The people of this group gain subsistence within the white
184 economic system so that work skills become important. For the most
183 part the Indians must work to get money to buy the necessities of life
461 and the other things they want. Work is the principal means by which to acquire goods and property and competence at work increases the chances both of finding work and making more money. In addition, work skills are valued as indices of personal achievement. Indian informants identify themselves and others with some comment about what a man is, does, or has done, and past or present economic abilities are included in this appraisal. Unemployed men, talking to a white observer, usually point out past accomplishments, jobs at which they excel, or catalog the land, stock and other possessions they own that might impress the

184 183 177 461 investigator with their personal worth. One man, known locally as "a good worker but a wino," recalled that he had been a "champion dancer" and "a good bronc rider." He had traveled and worked in many parts of the country, he said, and told many stories of his adventures during those times. He took the investigator on a tour of his "lands" to show the house, ranch, and stock he owned. "You though I was a bum, didn't you? I showed you my lands. I have good cattles too, don't I?" The land was his undoubtedly, but all else belonged to the leaseholder.

This suggests another reason why economic skills, like excellence at sports, are valued by the Indian-oriented. They are aware that these skills and abilities are given recognition by their white and white-oriented neighbors. Not only do these accomplishments contribute toward earning a living and a sense of personal achievement, but they also enhance the image of "the Indian" among the white men.

The Indian-oriented value work skills but have not adopted the American appreciation of work as an end in itself. The Indian works hard and well but feels no compulsion to work beyond the time necessary to satisfy short-term needs. Several factors contribute to this attitude, such as the irregular and seasonal jobs the Indian-oriented people are accustomed to getting, the apparent lack of interest in many things the white man considers essential, and the social restrictions upon accumulation of property which will be discussed under the heading of generosity. At any rate, the Indian-oriented man values social participation, visiting, attending Indian Days celebrations on this and other reservations, horse races, and stick games more than he

177 does long and steady labor. It is difficult for persons with this
184 attitude to win acceptance and high status within the white-oriented
183 structure.

[461] Wisdom, too, is valued to the degree that it contributes to
[186] the maintenance of Indian-ness. Thus knowledge of the old religion, lore and rituals is highly regarded, even by the Indian-oriented who no longer believe in them. One informant commented, "I know I'm
[796] full-blooded and like to keep the old things alive." A woman was
[829] disappointed to hear that there would be no Sun Dance at the 1960 Indian Days Encampment.

> Indian Days aren't any good if they don't hold the Medicine Lodge. The dances don't have any meaning unless they have the Lodge. I'd take part if they had one. Even if you don't believe in it it's part of old Indian ways. You make promises to people. You have to help them, so you give things and help.

177 Modern knowledge is also good. The Indian-oriented, in general,
184 display an ambivalence in their attitudes toward education and it is
871 difficult to isolate the many factors that inhibit Blackfeet progress in white schools. Among these, the gap between home and school environments, the language problem, the effects of failure and fear of failure, and the lack of clear cut personal objectives are undoubtedly important. Motivation is limited by these and is not overridden by parental authority. The Indian-oriented may urge their children to attend school, but do not order them to do so.

The Indian-oriented leaders value the knowledge that comes from school and in general support the idea of education. The knowledge gained is valuable and necessary if the Indians are to deal successfully with the white man. Indians can combat white ways by learning from

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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with basic social security, but we did not realize its complexity until much later. This was partly the result of a preconception, for though we knew that Blackfoot social security means primarily basic economic security, we had drifted into the assumption of a priority of economic factors over others. We were to realize that life in any community, let alone the Blackfoot reserve, involved many other equally poignant imperatives. Some of them were controllable by a benevolent administration, but others were not. The agency could protect the Indians on the reserve against discriminatory practices by whites, but it was helpless to keep them on jobs off the reserve. Reserve residents could be protected against the dangers of starvation, but could not be provided with the kind of inner psychological security that would encourage them to make their own way in the world.

These observations so interested us that we returned to Alberta in the summers of 1939 and 1941 to study the social and psychological effects of the economic security of the Blackfoot. At the same time a study was projected by Columbia University under the guidance of the late Dr. Ruth Benedict for comparing the Blackfoot reserve with the Blood and Piegan reserves, where the cultural backgrounds were somewhat the same, but where such social security was non-existent. Unfortunately, this programme has not been fully realized.[1]

Our problem of social security then took a new direction. We had previously noted that the expected placidity of a secure people was not present. Only during these summers did we realize the impossibility of separating the factors of social security from the factors of the administrative policy. The Indians readily accepted the benefits of the trust funds but expressed considerable hostility towards the agency officials. In other ways the problem also grew: we observed that the Indians were dissatisfied and that their expectations were partly conditioned by what the surrounding whites possessed. How could an Indian raise wheat on forty acres, they complained, when a white man needed a section before he could make any money? Obviously the white world was a factor too. We also heard complaints from the agency that the Indians were failing to take advantage of the work opportunities provided. Farmers were not cultivating their fields with the tractors and ploughs purchased

[1]Some of these data have been published: cf. in Bibliography, studies by Oscar Lewis and Esther S. Goldfrank.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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at tribal expense. A plan of self-help which was not working was also involved. When we tried to find out the reason for this, we immediately encountered the Blackfoot attitudes towards industriousness and thrift, which seem related to the cultural past when people worked furiously for a brief period and then settled into the leisure of contented enjoyment. The clear problem of the direct effect of social security faded and we felt that reformulation was necessary.

Finally we fixed the focus of our study on the interrelations of agency policy and practices to the Indian inhabitants. Necessarily this is a dynamic, two-way process where the agency officials in pursuing their objectives react to the Indians, and the Indians in turn react to the agency measures. This then changes the conditions of action for the agency and modifies the action. For instance, the agency applied the official policy of promoting self-sufficiency among the Blackfoot. How did the Blackfoot react to these measures? What conditioned this reaction, and what measures did the agency adopt in response to this? Entering this complex are many factors: the policy of the Indian Affairs Branch at Ottawa, the past experience of the reserve in its relations to the agency, the setting of the reserve in relation to the white and Indian communities of the neighbourhood, and the social structure of the Blackfoot community itself.

Accordingly in the following pages we have begun with a brief history of the reserve since the Blackfoot Treaty. Subsequently the circumstances of the sale of the land are reviewed along with the use that was made of the funds. In Chapter III we turn to a description of the economy of the reserve and in the following chapter to its immediate social effects. Chapters V and VI describe the political organization and the social life of the Blackfoot. The final chapter gives our diagnosis of the difficulty and suggests a method for bringing agency and Indian more closely together.

Our data comes first from interviews with Indians and agency officials. The Blackfoot informants were paid for their services at the rate of one dollar for each half day. The second main source is official documents. These two classes of data were compared with each other and with certain memoirs and local histories. When the manuscript was nearing completion, a brief stay in Ottawa permitted checking certain additional points with the kind help of Indian Affairs officials.

We are very conscious of the fact that many important events with potentially profound effects for the reserve have occurred since

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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anything like the cash income of *D* and *E*. Many of the group, however, have set high levels of aspiration which they feel obligated to maintain. Because they are energetic and aggressive, they have a fairly comfortable existence. The group contains mostly middle-aged property holders who have learned, and do not object to, white techniques of making a living. Those labelled "progressive" are included here, for they have been willing to give up some of the Blackfoot folkways to acquire some of the comforts of the white man. A few of the older men who feel themselves in the role of the old-fashioned band chief fall into this category also. They are hard workers, sagacious with their property, and eager to give the appearance of personal accomplishment. They are among the tribe's most influential and aristocratic members.

(3) The third class owns property of sufficient size to make some sort of living and is willing to live within the limits of these earnings with a minimum of supplement. *F* exemplifies this class, as he works for wages only at critical times when a pressing demand for extra cash arises. Before Christmas he earned $5 by working one week at the mines and did not return through the remainder of the year. Before the Sun Dance, again in need of cash, he sold his radio to a neighbour. *G*, another example, derives his income mainly from farming, and he rarely adds to this income with wages. Included in this class is the so-called "old Indian" who is not concerned with work except as a means to feed, clothe, and shelter himself, and to contribute fittingly on religious occasions. As in buffalo days, when people hunted only if the bags of dried meat were running low, so today these people work mainly to satisfy their immediate needs. Property is important mainly if it helps to obtain these satisfactions more easily. Another kind of individual in this class is the discouraged one who feels that he has been prevented by the present state of affairs from obtaining satisfaction. Feeling blocked by the agency or sensing unjust treatment of the Indians, he has ceased to exert himself, believing his effort to be useless.

Apart from motivation factors, we may note merely the nature of these classes in so far as they concern the economy. An individual may alter his class as an earner. Certainly many who once were energetic earners have become discouraged and given up. In general most young Blackfoot earners begin by living at home or with someone and become later property-owning householders. Furthermore these classes are not qualitatively distinct but may be thought

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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in school may be used by Blackfoot women, if they fit the circumstances. Probably standards of household cleanliness have been elevated through school influence; bed linen is found in some homes, and washing may be done with a hand-driven machine. It is the woman who wants to demonstrate her adherence to white standards who urges her husband to purchase a kitchen cabinet and a linoleum carpet for the kitchen. In such regards the influence of white culture via the schools persists, yet the major conversion of a woman to Blackfoot ways occurs at the time of her marriage. Whether or not she becomes an active participant in Indian ceremonials is largely determined by the interests of her husband and the character of the extended family. One young woman announced her eligibility for the role of Sun Dance vower by participating in the tongue-cutting ceremony, though she was under thirty. Others join with their husbands when the latter enter a society. The sole society for women is joined only by women over fifty whose interest in Indian ways has long been established.

This change to Indian ways, it must be emphasized, is not a degrading experience to the individual concerned. Only in the eyes of those who are still trying to embrace a white outlook is this a humiliating experience. For the rest it means a renewal of solidarity with the past, the discovery of the true way of life, and the renouncing of an illusion. There is pride in being an Indian and adhering to the ways of one's ancestors. There was little security in striving for white values. As a devotee of Indian ways one gives up the ambivalent position of trying to become a replica of the whites who themselves deny the possibility. A certain psychic relaxation occurs that makes the avowed Indian stronger within himself.

Such a transition does not necessarily mean giving up one's mode of earning a living, abandonment of a house for a tipi, nor wearing buckskin attire. It is mainly a reorganization of values so that the same behaviour occurs, though directed towards different ends. A man should continue farming or mining, for industriousness is a Blackfoot virtue too. However, the ardour for earning cash does not seem so great. As an Indian he works for security by solidifying the extended family rather than by acquiring white trappings for his own household. Because in time these trappings are all given away, many an Indian home is quite bare. A man senses his obligations to kinsmen and the necessity for solidarity with them. When the pay cheque comes, he buys blankets and food to give away instead of

824 in hide bags made of fetal deer of sheep. That way the berries would not
262
251 spoil. Then they would be added to soups or made into sausages.
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Saskatoon leaves were crushed and mixed with blood, then dried and used to make a rich broth in winter.

The Blackfoot distinguished differences among river, coulee (cutbank) and mountain saskatoons and preferred the taste of the coulee one.

824 Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
262
[251] The tart berries were washed and eaten or dried and soaked later with sugar.

[272] The leaves could be crushed and smoked with tobacco or brewed for tea.
[276]

[278] Artemisia campestris
[460] Runners chewed the leaves for their mentholating properties.

Artemisia frigida

[263] The crushed leaves were mixed with stored meat to maintain a good odor.

Artemisia ludoviciana

The leaves were chewed as a confection.

Asclepias viridiflora

[263] In the spring the plant was used to spice soups. The fresh root was often eaten and pieces saved for winter soups.

Astragalus canadensis

The root, known as "Tender Root", was another staple and was either
[222] eaten fresh or boiled in blood or broth. Sometimes the roots were obtained by robbing the burrow of a small, mouse-like mammal.

Berberis repens

[261] On rare occasions the berry was eaten when nothing else was available.

Camassia quamash

[252] The bulbs were boiled and given in soup on special events. The
[192]

19: Forde E-4 (no date) 1952 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

294 yoke which covered the shoulders. They were then elaborately
291 decorated with strips of weasel skin and with patterns painted
on or worked with dyed strips of the quills of porcupines and
[531] birds. On journeys and in cold weather leggings of soft hide
suspended from a waist belt were also worn.

The Tipi

342 The cover of the conical tent or tipi was also made of soft
237 buffalo hides. When spread out on the ground it formed an approximate semicircle, which for an ordinary tipi of later times had a radius of thirteen to eighteen feet and required rather more than a dozen skins. The designing of a cover was skilled work, and its sewing with sinew and a bone bodkin

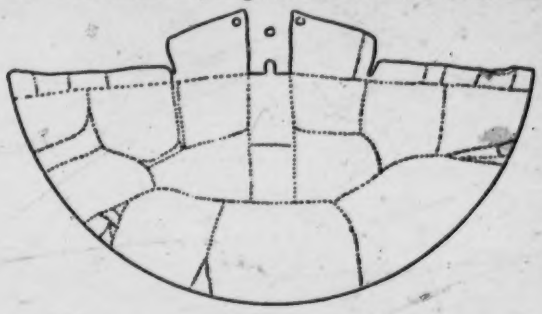

FIG. 19. PATTERN OF A SKIN TIPI COVER
(After Wissler)

461 was laborious. When a new one was required the woman
423 gathered a store of food and invited a large group of friends and relatives to share in the work, for the tipi was the woman's property, first given her by her family on marriage and always
342 erected by her. The frame was of pine or spruce poles obtained
[824] in the foothills. Four poles, tied together near the tops with
[284] sinew in a secure tipi knot, were first set up in a pyramid. Half a dozen more were then set between these to form a circle. The last pole was securely lashed at several points to the centre line of the hide cover, which was then raised in position at the rear of the frame, and drawn round from either side to be pinned together down the front. The poles were then adjusted until the cover was drawn tight all round and finally pegged
[354] down to the ground, or weighted with stones. Two projecting tongues of the cover now hung limply down at the top. Through holes or in pockets in these the ends of two longer poles were thrust so that the flaps stood out as 'ears' which could, by

462 in the days when men were still treated like kings by the
592 women; they didn't do anything to help around the home. My father would sit and smoke his pipe, or sing songs and visit, and let my mother serve him and take care of everything. We were quite young, so she didn't make us work either. We would just play and watch.

342 We didn't have a very big house to live in when we were
[343] kids. But it was a good and warm one made of logs. My father always provided my mother with a separate log house to cook in. In it she had tables and chairs and she kept it to suit her-
461 self. She always began her work by chopping some wood, and then cleaning up her work area. If there was a meal to fix, she would cook. Otherwise she would sit down to sew or do beadwork. She never sat around idle. My sister and I learned well not to be idle, from our mother.

574 During the day my father would often saddle his horse and go visiting. He would ride over to the home of his mother. His father had several wives and they were all my father's mothers. Other times he would go to visit different relatives and friends. Back in the days before we were born my father had been to war with some of those friends, and they always talked about
462 those times when they got together. The spoiled way that my father acted was left over from those days, when men did all the fighting, hunting, and looking after the family horses, and the women did everything around the home.

512 While my father went riding my mother would stay home with us and do her work. Sometimes she would sew things for us, or tan hides for rugs or clothing. She would watch the sun, and when he got to a certain place in the sky she would start the fire for cooking. She would make tea, because she knew that my father would be home soon. He always came back before dark. When he got in she would serve him tea. He would sit at his place, at the back of the room, by the altar and under his bundles. He would slowly drink his tea, and

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

to him, just on the other side of him and his bundle. The people who had medicine pipes and beaver bundles always sat closest.

The men all sat cross-legged on the bed, wherever they were shown. Of course, the men always sat on the north side of the tipi and the women on the south. If a man was accompanied by his wife, she usually sat in the same place on the women's side as her husband was given on the men's. But the women never sit cross-legged. They sit with their legs either folded back to one side or else straight out.

After all the food was served out then my grandmother would serve out the beverage. Let's say she had tea. She would fill all the cups with tea and then pass them around to the guests. When they are through eating they just push their plates out away from themselves, and she comes around to pick them up. Then she sits back down by the fire and washes all her dishes right away. Most of the visitors brought their own plates and bowls, especially if they were religious people. If there was food left over at the end, she would divide it out among the bowls, and the visitors would take it home with them.

My uncle, Joe Heavy Head, was the one who usually did the chores and outside work around the tipi. He was their oldest son and he usually slept toward the back. He looked after the horses, and he went down to the bush for water and wood. My grandfather had no time for any chores because he was a religious leader. People kept him busy making announcements in the camp, or looking after their medicine pipe bundles. My grandmother had a lot of religious duties to take care of, too. On certain days she did all her day's work right in the morning, because she would be gone with her religious work the rest of the day.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

439 wrapping paper, no paper sacks; our customers furnished their own
435 receptacles for their purchases. A pint cup, not a pound, was our standard of measurement. Sugar was twenty-five cents per cup; coffee, fifty cents; tea, fifty cents; flour, three cups for fifty cents; and so on. Tobacco was two dollars a pound; cartridges, two dollars a box; and other merchandise that we had in stock—red trade cloth, blue trade cloth, calico, gingham, needles and thread, baking powder, Chinese vermilion, axes, knives, pots, and frying pans—went at better than 100 per cent profit. Our prices exorbitant? No. The Pikunis were rich; meat was their staff of life, and they had plenty of it. All that we traded to them for their buffalo robes and furs were —except cartridges, knives, and axes—luxuries that they did not need.

342 White were the four hundred new, buffalo-leather lodge-skins of
532 the Pikuni camp; those of the Sun priests, medicine men, painted in vivid colors with symbols of their sky gods, sun, moon, and the stars, and the birds and animals of their visions, their dreams. At the rear top of every lodge-skin was painted in red and black a
[828] small figure resembling a Maltese cross. It was the symbol for the butterfly, believed to be the giver of good dreams.

262 So long as they had plenty of buffalo for the killing of them, no people anywhere on earth were happier, more content, than those of the Blackfoot tribes. Meat was *nitápi waksin*, "real food"; all other
●461 eatables were *kistapi waksin*, "nothing foods." As meat and hides
462 were needed, the men hunted. That was not work; it was exciting sport. To the women fell all of the lodge work, yet they had much leisure time; none worked as hard as the average white farmer's wife.

512 With the break of day, the women started their lodge fires, and
515 the men, wrapped only in robes or blankets, herded their boys, from three-year-olds up, to the river to bathe. In summer, in winter, regardless of the weather, that was their daily custom. When unable to find open water, they dropped their wraps and rolled in the snow, then hurried home to dress. The baths, they said, inured them to the cold; enabled them to hunt and butcher their kills in severest
[343] weather without even freezing their fingertips. In summer the women daily flocked to the stream for a swim; in winter they had sweat baths in small lodges built for that purpose alone.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

shale, and was still. Cried Yellow Fish, in Blackfoot, "Oh, *Ho, Hai!* This Fisher Hat, he did not kneel and rest his gun; just stood and aimed it, and with one shot killed the very far-off bighead."

Translating that for Grinnell, I added: "And so, appropriately, this where we are gets a name: it is Singleshot Mountain." That is the name it bears today.

The ram proved to be full grown, and very fat. Its head and horns alone were a heavy burden for one man. With it, and all the meat that we could carry, we turned back down to camp and had a feast of well-broiled ribs.

We found that there was a well-used Indian and game trail running up the west side of the upper lake. It was not used by the Blackfoot tribes, except occasional war parties of them, Yellow Fish told us. It was a trail of other-side-of-the-mountains tribes: Kutenais, Kalispels, Spokanes; and of the North Cutthroats (the Stonies), a mountain tribe of Assiniboines in Alberta. Blackfeet, Bloods, and Pikunis never had been mountain hunters. They had not liked to climb steep mountains for the meat they wanted, when on horseback they could run herds of buffalo and make great killings of them.

On a very warm, windless morning we took up this trail and, having followed it for about five miles, came to a creek that headed up back of Singleshot Mountain and the next one south of it. Saying that he would go well up the creek and try to kill a goat or bighorn, Yellow Fish started up it; Grinnell and I strolled down to the lake, sat on a long point running out in it, admired the view that we had of the mountains to the east and south, and talked of this and that, regretting that we had no saddle horses. Grinnell vowed that he would return a year from then, when, with a complete saddle and pack outfit, we would explore the source of Swift Current River. Passed several hours, and then Yellow Fish, up in the mountains, began shooting. Fourteen shots, as fast as he could work the lever of his Henry rifle; a pause, and then fourteen more shots; another pause, and then, more slowly, still other shots. He was, we thought, making a great killing of bighorns or goats, and we were much worried about it. We did not believe in killing game that was not actually needed for food or for museum placement and study. We returned

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Part of my afternoon was passed in just thumbing through old magazines and mail-order catalogues, and although this type of reading is not to be recommended as a steady diet, it certainly is revelatory of a basic difference between the personality structures of Whites and Indians. A great deal of modern advertising is obviously directed by the knowledge that the White person, whether male or female, has become so confused by the rapidly changing roles of both men and women within the framework of our society that he is no longer quite certain of his own identity and will consequently grab at almost anything that promises to reestablish him in the eyes of his peers as belonging to the proper gender. The Indian, on the other hand, although he has in large measure been deprived of his cultural identity, still possesses in very strong degree that sense of sexual identity for which so many Whites are groping; such phrases as "A real MAN's smoke," and "Banking with a feminine touch," mean absolutely nothing to an Indian, and Indians in general are very poor targets for advertising of this sort.

Regarding Indian women (and I do my share of regarding), I believe that the Blackfoot woman of today is definitely a happier person than her White sister, and I feel sure that this same contrast existed in the old days. The Blackfoot wife was never the slave or chattel that she has been pictured as being. True, Blackfoot marriages usually were arranged affairs, but the arrangement had the same social and economic basis that most modern White marriages have, and a Blackfoot girl could refuse to accept her family's choice of husband if she wished. And a Blackfoot girl was not bought or purchased by her husband; gifts were exchanged between the suitor and the bride's family, and the more expensive the gifts the suitor could provide, the better were his chances for receiving the blessings of his future in-laws, but the final choice was up to the girl.

Certainly the Blackfoot woman was expected to do her share of work, and the classier were her domestic attainments the more desirable was she as a bride; but the teepee and its furnishings were the property of the wife, not the husband, and for good cause a Blackfoot woman could tell her husband to get out of the teepee and stay out. Even the meat that the husband provided, after the wife had turned it into dry meat or pemmican, belonged to the wife. But the Blackfoot society was structured around the family unit, and if a Blackfoot woman started to get uppity with her spouse, she darn well better have some relatives she could depend on for support.

White women generally shudder at the thought of polygamous marriage, but the Blackfoot ladies rather enjoyed the idea. There was considerable labor involved in tanning hides, building a new

lodge, making moccasins and clothing, picking berries, gathering wood, hauling water, preparing food, and taking care of the children, and so far as a Blackfoot woman was concerned, the more wives the merrier. A woman's husband traditionally had first claim on her younger sisters as his additional wives, and if a woman had no younger sisters she frequently shopped around and located her husband's second wife for him. There was less work for her to do this way, and she always had somebody to talk to.

For about an hour this afternoon I just sat and watched the flies flirt with the flypaper. In case the world would like to know, about twice as many flies light on the concave side of the paper as light on the convex side, and about two out of every five flies that light manage to get free again. Maybe I should compile a compendium of my observations. After all, Mr. P. gained immortal fame by revealing that a hungry dog will salivate when it thinks it is going to get fed—a fact which could have been gleaned from any farm boy.

At four o'clock, Jim came in with an immense load of wood, and his return left me free to go to town to check the mail. When I got back, at about six, Jim said that he and Dad had already "lunched around," so I opened a can of vegetable soup and made a jam and peanut butter sandwich. I brought the Chief several large cans of pineapple juice and a couple of pounds of white seedless grapes. I think he needs more of this kind of food. He ate some of the grapes and went immediately to bed. While I was taking off his moccasins, it occurred to me that he has been wearing the same sox for more than a week—and God knows his feet have not touched water—but the wool sox smell as fresh as the day I first put them on his feet. I hate to imagine what my sox would be like after a week of constant wear. I have never yet encountered an Indian with an unpleasant body odor, and I credit this in part to the fact that Indians are total strangers to nervous perspiration—they *never* become flustered, no matter what the situation. Well, hardly ever.

After the Chief retired, I imitated Jimmy's effort of several days ago and baked two pies—just to see whether I could do it. One was cherry and the other blueberry. We ate the cherry one as soon as it was finished, and it was not too bad for a first effort. During our postprandial discussion, Jimmy let slip the fate of the leather jacket and the tooled pistol holster that I gave him during my last visit. The Blackfoots have something called a "give-away dance," during which they vie with one another in seeing who can give away the most (just take a typical *White Christmas*, turn the whole thing around backward, and you come up with the general idea). I never

461 464 [177] One unpopular but necessary adjunct to haying income is farm labor. Some of the residents of Glenwood, Stand-off, and Moses Lake augment their Reserve income by working for white ranchers and growers within a one hundred mile radius of the Reserve. As this labor is generally casual crop labor such as picking, thinning, and harvesting, it is irregular. Many Blood look down upon it, and it appears to be acceptable to only the lowest socio-economic echelon on the Reserve.

464 From these sources the average Blood Indian ekes out his living. Other forms of income are cattle ranching, rodeo work, carpentry and other construction work, seasonal work in nearby urban centers and the individual agricultural 657 leases. A considerable portion of individual income comes from tribal welfare resources and Canadian social welfare 434 benefits. Depending upon the combination of these various forms of income, the residents of the Reserve may be divided into socio-economic strata. On the top are the men who derive their income from their own agricultural endeavors or from their stock-raising enterprises. These Blood live as well as or better than the average white farmers around the Reserve. They have rather new cars and pick-up trucks, modern conveniences in the home, well painted and maintained homes, and they dress well and keep their children well groomed. Beneath this stratum is the middle class of the Reserve. These are the men with relatively steady income

125 select a number of the I.A.I. illustrations which represented things that they liked to do most. These initial selections were labeled "favorites" and tabulated separately. They constitute the first choices and the first task completed by the informants as they responded to the I.A.I. As a first step in the reporting and analysis of data collected with the I.A.I. the "favorite" choices of the young Blood will be described. The table following lists the instrumental activities in rank order according to the number of respondents who chose them as "favorites."

TABLE 6

I.A.I. FAVORITES

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Activity	Number of Respondents Selecting as "Favorites"
Automechanic	23
Haying	17
Carpenter	16
Bronc Rider	16
Farmer-Plowing	13
Branding-Ranching	13
Calf Roping	12
Boxer	10
Office Worker	9
Chicken (Fancy) Dancing	7

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

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This list of "favorite" choices by the sample illustrates the range of positive selections and the immediate occupational interests of the young Blood Indian. Most remarkable is the strong preference for Automechanic in relation to the other "favorites," and the absence of most of the white-oriented activities such as Doctor, Store Keeper, Priest-Clergy, Politician, or Cook-Baker. Also lacking are many of the Indian-oriented activities such as Medicine Man or Investiture.

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As mentioned above, each protocol was examined for the opinions expressed in all parts of the interview. Every judgment made by each informant about each I.A.I. illustration was then given a rating on a five-point scale, ranking each illustration from least to most liked. The distribution of these acceptable activities is somewhat different from that of the sample choice of favorites in the preceding table. Table 7 places instrumental activities in rank order according to the number of respondents who expressed positive valuation of the activity. "Favorites" and liked ratings are grouped together.

The inclusion of this more generalized appraisal does not greatly influence the ordering of positively regarded alternatives. Most important is the change in the status of Branding-Ranching in relation to the other activities. It replaces Automechanic as the most popular.

[461]

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

TABLE 7

GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE INSTRUMENTAL ACTIVITIES

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Activity	Number of Informants Responding Positively to the Activity
Branding-Ranching	26
Automechanic	23
Carpenter	21
Bronc Rider	21
Haying	19
Farming-Plowing	17
Calf Roping	14
Chicken (Fancy) Dancing	13
Office Worker	13
Boxing	11

Despite this change, the general configurations of both tables are similar. Interestingly, the activities that shifted in popularity are all the activities available to the young Indian on his Reserve, as illustrated in Table 8.

It might be noted that, in contrast to Table 8, the activities least affected by the combined ranking, Boxing, Calf Roping, and Haying, are also Reserve-oriented activities; however, the reasons behind these relative changes

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

125 cannot be explicated without extending the discussion to
461 the various reasons given by the informants for their selections. These will be discussed in Chapters III and IV.

TABLE 8

CHANGES IN POPULARITY,
TABLE 7 - TABLE 6

Rank	Activity	New Selections
1	Branding-Ranching	13
2	Chicken Dancer	6
3	Carpenter	5
4	Bronc Rider	5

125 There are thirteen I.A.'s from the inventory which do not appear in either Table 7 or Table 8. Some of the missing I.A.'s elicited a strong negative response, but many of them elicited no response or highly confused and ambivalent responses. These latter activities, those with either no response or ambivalent response, should be removed from the analysis of those activities which commanded strong positive or negative opinions from the informants. This must be done for two reasons. First, as mentioned above, the I.A.I. demands that informants have prior cultural knowledge of the activities they must judge. It would seem an

125 indication of lack of knowledge when the informant is reluctant to state an opinion. Thus for value-analysis purposes no response is unanalyzable. Secondly, in the ambivalent response, both lack of cultural knowledge and indecision appear to be operative. In this case the informant may be unwilling or unable to form an opinion, and, therefore, it would be incorrect for the investigator to form one for him. In both cases then the response is unanalyzable.

This does not mean that such ambivalence or ignorance must be ignored by the investigator. Therefore, prior to eliminating them, the no-response and ambivalent-response I.A.I.'s will be listed. Those listed are activities which were unable to elicit positive or negative opinions from at least fifty per cent of the sample. These activities are listed in Table 9 and are henceforth excluded from the value analysis.

461 [125] The activities listed in Table 9 seem to have little in common. The first two are traditional or Indian activities, and the remainder relate in one way or another to the acculturative situation. It is not too surprising to find the response to the traditional activities so ambivalent. In the aboriginal culture these aspects of Blood culture were tabooed activities to the uninitiated young man. Today they are non-functional, yet they have certain value because

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

TABLE 9

I.A.'s ELICITING NO RESPONSE OR AMBIVALENT RESPONSES

461
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Activity	Per Cent of Total Sample Producing No Response or Ambivalent Opinion
Investiture	80
Medicine Man	67
Oil Worker	62
Nurse	57
Dairyman	57
Mixed Marriage	55
Artist	52

they do represent the old culture. As for the remaining I.A.'s a number of reasons could account for their seeming inapplicability. Nurse applies to the opposite sex entirely in the Blood mind and in the illustration. The question frequently asked, "Would you like your sister to do this?" was apparently too conjectural for the young Blood. Oil Worker and Dairyman applied to experience not readily available on the Reserve, thus inspired ambivalent answers. Mixed Marriage was generally answered non-committally, and Artist was linked to artistic ability and thus was viewed ambivalently because of its prerequisites.

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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This focuses the study upon the remaining seventeen I.A.I. illustrations, the ones about which sufficient numbers of young Blood expressed an opinion and met our criterion. The opinions were both positive and negative, and, therefore, the illustrations may be seen as falling on one side or the other of a dividing line between positive and negative assessment. In Table 10 these I.A.I. illustrations are listed, and the three possible responses--positive (+), negative (-), and no opinion/ambivalent (Ø)--are noted by number of informants.

TABLE 10

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RANKINGS

Positive Evaluation				Negative Evaluation			
Activity	+	-	Ø	Activity	+	-	Ø
Branding-Ranching*	26	4	9	Bartender	6	27	7
Automechanic*	25	6	10	Store Keeper	2	26	12
Carpenter*	21	3	14	Cook-Baker	4	22	14
Bronc Rider*	21	8	11	Boxer*	11	21	8
Haying*	19	6	15	Barber	9	17	14
Farming*	17	8	15	Office Worker*	13	16	11
Calf Roping*	14	9	17	Priest-Clergy	4	16	20
Chicken Dancer*	13	9	18	Doctor	6	15	19
Office Worker*	13	16	11	Politician	6	14	20

*="Favorite."

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There are several important facets to the above table. Outstanding is the presence of Office Worker on both sides of the table. Office Worker is also interesting because of its balanced division of opinion. Boxer is like Office Worker, being both a "favorite" and a reject. In this regard, Boxer was one of the activities tabulated in Table 8 as one of those activities least affected by the change from "favorite" to generally acceptable. Another important aspect of the preceding table is the high frequency of no-opinion/ambivalence responses among the three lowest ranked rejects: Priest-Clergy, Doctor, and Politician. The significance of these figures will be discussed later in the analysis of the reasons for rejecting these

125 activities. Two final points of interest in Table 10 are the contrast between the positive and negative evaluations in the numerical progression of evaluations and the frequency of no-response/ambivalence evaluations throughout the table. In regard to the first point, the progression is regular excepting for Office Worker and Bronc Rider on the positive side and Boxer, Barber, and Office Worker on the negative side. This would seem to indicate that the activities exceptional in this regard are in some way different from the other activities. Also it appears that in general, the young Blood are more sure about what they do not like than they are about what they do like. The second

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RESPONSES AND PERCENTAGE OF DOMINANT VIEW

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Activity	Response	Per Cent (+)	Activity	Response	Per Cent (-)
Automechanic	31	80	Bartender	33	82
Branding	30	86	Boxer	32	65
Bronc Rider	29	72	Office Worker	29	55
Office Worker	29	45	Store Keeper	28	92
Carpenter	26*	81	Cook-Baker	26*	85
			Barber	26*	65

*Sixty-five per cent of sample responding.

125

To comprehend the above table it is suggested that the reader remove from consideration the "exceptional" activities: Bronc Rider, Office Worker, Boxer, and Barber. As indicated in regard to the previous table, they are exceptional in that they appear to be perceived more dichotomously than the other I.A.'s (a difference which will be examined in Chapters III and VI). The remaining I.A.'s: Automechanics, Branding-Ranching, and Carpenter versus Bartender, Store Keeper, Cook-Baker, reveal that there is a definite trend toward stronger negative evaluation than there is toward positive evaluation. Although this distinction is probably not highly significant in relation to the

159 ings expressed in interpersonal relations. His life is dedicated to overt expression of likes and dislikes relating to his "image" and to his continuous strivings. These occur in athletics, in his relations to other Blood, both male and female, in consumer activities, and in his relationships to the members of the surrounding white community.

Many of the themes expressed in the foregoing case history may be discerned in the I.A.I. responses. As will be outlined in the next section, the I.A.I. elicited information on a variety of themes other than these.

Enumeration of Reasons behind I.A.I. Choices

461 One of the results of the analysis of the I.A.I. responses was the collection of an inventory of the various reasons given for I.A.I. choices. In all, seventeen different reasons were cited by the sample for accepting or liking the popular I.A.'s. Twenty-four reasons were given for rejecting them. Although many reasons were given but a few times, others were noted quite frequently. Table 12 lists the ten reasons for accepting an activity that were given most frequently.

The table indicates three differing areas of concern. The first three reasons are much more frequently cited than any of the rest, more than the last four put

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

461 together. A second rank of concern would be the reasons ranked four, five, and six. These reasons are cited quite frequently in absolute numbers. The third area of concern is the last set of reasons: seven, eight and nine (both). These seem to be of less concern to the sample members. It should be remembered in this regard that there were seven other reasons given less frequently than these.

TABLE 12

REASONS FOR CHOOSING AN ACTIVITY

Reason	Number of Times Stated
Experience	72
Money	63
Knowledge	53
Excitement	35
Long Run Security	26
Easy Work	21
Recognition	15
Non-confinement	13
Generosity	11
Health, Ownership (each reason)	9

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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The significance of these figures relates to the meanings attached to the reasons. Of the first three--Experience, Money, and Knowledge--it would seem that Experience and knowledge are the most important because they relate to the same thing. It was noted in the preceding chapter that some knowledge was necessary for the completion of the I.A.I. interview; however it was not implied that knowledge should be a primary determinant of preference. Thus the selection of these two reasons by the young Blood as a primary determinant for preference must be related to their attitudes and values, a prerequisite for labeling an activity acceptable or "favorite." The relationship between knowledge and experience and the kind of choices made is illustrated more strongly by the reasons cited for rejecting an alternative.

In the table of reasons for rejection (Table 13) there is a pattern similar to the reasons for acceptance. In this case, Experience and Knowledge are far and away the most important reasons for rejecting an activity. They are followed at some distance by Boredom and Confinement, which in turn is followed by Injury and Lack of Long-run Security. Then again there is another gap, and the sixth through tenth reasons appear.

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

TABLE 13

REASONS FOR REJECTING AN ACTIVITY

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Rank	Reason	Number of Times Stated
1	Lack of Experience	119
2	Lack of Knowledge	106
3	Boredom-Confinement	56
4	Injury-Disfigurement	28
5	Lack of Long-run Security	24
6	Drinking-Drunkenness	14
7	Hard Tiring Work	13
8	Loss of Self Esteem	13
9	Excessive Aggression	13
10	Dirtiness, Fear of Responsibility (each reason)	9

It would seem, therefore, that the young Blood's concern with Knowledge and Experience is greater than that required for comment upon the various activities. This concern is illustrated by examples of statements scored as "Lack of Experience" or "Lack of Knowledge" in the protocols.

(Cook) I never work with this kind. I never heard about bakin'. (Question--Like to learn?) No. (Question--Why?) I don't know how to bake some of those things.

(Cook) I never did know how so I'm not interested.

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(Farm) I don't know much about that. (Question--Own a farm?) I'd lease it. (Question--For a third of the crop?) I'd settle for a third. I don't know too much about it. I'd rather do ranch work.

On the positive (acceptance) side the ideas of "Experience" and "Knowledge" were expressed in the following manner:

(Carp.) Ever since I got out of school I started working on that. I had some training in school. I never did go to a Tech. or nothing. I just started working on it. (Question--Why?) I just like it.

(Farm) I've been pretty familiar with that all my life. (Question--What do you like about it?) The work. It's something I've done.

(Brand.) I hope in the future that I'll be a rancher. I'm planning on it. There's a lot of open space and hay on the Reserve. If I get a chance I hope I can make a go of it. (Question--Why?) There's good money in it. I've done ranch jobs and I like it.

These examples indicate that Experience and Knowledge are tied directly to the informant's view of the task under discussion, and that they exert considerable influence upon decisions made about the various activities. Furthermore, the absence of these two prerequisites precludes even casual interest and the possibility of consideration.

(Polit.) I don't know about that one. I never paid any attention to politics.

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(Barber) To me . . . I never got around to thinking about that.

(Doctor) I never figured I'd get there. Never got enough training for that, so I never gave it much thought.

Experience and Knowledge influence the evaluation of instrumental activities by the young Blood in three ways. Experience and Knowledge are prerequisites to the positive choice of an I.A. Conversely the lack of either or both may lead to rejection. Finally, insufficient Experience or Knowledge can preclude discussion or consideration of an activity. On this basis it might be assumed that the young Blood refuse to consider as a career an occupation with which they have had no firsthand experience.

Money is yet another primary reason for accepting an activity; however, it is felt that it cannot be profitably discussed at this juncture. It is sufficient to note that of the secondary reasons for acceptance and rejection Long Run Economic Security is prominent. Other secondary concerns on the acceptance side are Excitement and Easy Work. These, of course, relate to the secondary reason for rejection--Boredom-Confinement. The tertiary concerns among the reasons for rejection are Injury-Disfigurement and the above-mentioned financial concern. All of these reasons appear to be of considerable importance to under-

461 standing the I.A.I. selections of the young Blood and their associated values. However, it is thought best to defer their further discussion until they can be related to the appropriate activity.

The Most Frequently Selected Instrumental Activities, Acceptable and Rejected

The activities listed above are those which elicited the most opinion from the sample. Each was selected as either an acceptable alternative or a rejected alternative by more than 50% of the sample. It is assumed that they were accepted or rejected because they had a special significance for the young Blood. Each, therefore, deserves particular attention in the identification of the instrumental values of the sample.

Automechanic.--Automechanic is the most highly favored activity in the inventory if one considers both its popularity as a "favorite" and the total number of responses it received. Thirty-one informants had an opinion about the task, of whom 80% approved of it. The most frequent reason given for its acceptability was that the informants felt that they knew something about it (19 statements). They also felt that their previous experience suited them for it (11 statements). Further, it was seen as economically profitable in the short run ("good money," 14 state-

461 ments) and in the long run (8 statements). Among those who approved of it there was some hesitance regarding the adequacy of their knowledge (4 statements).

The most important objection to the activity was some of the Blood's perception of it as a dirty job (6 statements). Other reasons for rejection were lack of knowledge (4 statements) and lack of experience (3 statements). From these few objections or rejections it can be seen that the young Blood see Automechanic as a highly desirable and pragmatic instrumentality. They select primarily on the basis of practical economic criteria, the training received in shop courses, and on the basis of applied experience.

492 554 Today, the horse has been relegated to the spheres of luxury transportation and status indicator. His role in Blood nomadism has been usurped by the pick-up truck. At the Sun Dance, at nearby Indian Day celebrations, and even at the local rodeos and stampedes, the horse is outnumbered by pick-up trucks and autos. The young Blood recognize this in that they see Automechanic not necessarily as an economic career but as a personal skill. For example:

(Automech.) It's something like a hobby. I like doing that; fixing cars to accomplish your own thing. I've got my own tools.

461 or, from a younger man,

(Automech.) I been practicing how to drive with my brother's car. I want to know how to handle a car. How to fix things.

and,

(Automech.) I wouldn't have to spend any money on fixin' my own car.

or finally,

(Automech.) My idea was, I should have up-grading for that. I'd like to go to a school where they teach you that. Could fix cars, get a job in a garage. I think I could make good money on that.

It can be seen that the practicality of the Blood permeates all other responses. To learn to operate a car is related to fixing it. To have a trade, a good paying job, is also part of being able to fix the car. Being a mechanic implies personal accomplishment and avoiding the expense of car repairs. One also makes good money at the mechanic's bench (note, however, the young Blood did not mention specific hourly wages here nor do they in any subsequent response).

[111] It is also important to note that the pick-up truck and auto do not seem to imply anti-Indianness. These vehicles seem to be integrated into the way of life of the Indian community. This is most apparent in the indication that Automechanic is a "good" job. It is a good job, despite the fact that those who disvalue it see it as a "dirty

461 job." This is even more striking when it is realized that there are no Indian mechanics (specialist or professional mechanics) within the Reserve community or in the surrounding white communities.

Branding-Ranching.--Most popular on the general level is Branding-Ranching. It is thought that greater understanding of the populer I.A.'s can be found by comparing the attributes of the most popular favorite and the most popular general choice.

Branding was commented upon by thirty members of the sample, of whom 86% favored it. As was the case in reference to Automechanic, knowledge (7 statements) and experience (6 statements) were prominent reasons for acceptance. Ranching or ranch work was called easy work, good work, and good paying work five times each. It was also considered exciting, exhilarating, and active (4 statements each). Three informants stated that they would like to own a ranch (note statement on farm ownership). The only reservation or apprehensiveness toward the activity was in regard to work. It was considered by some to be hard work (3 statements).

Ranching was rejected most frequently on the grounds of inexperience (12 statements). This would seem to indicate that ranching was rejected more strongly than would be expected. However, the response to the illustration was on

461 two levels. Most frequently informants indicated that they liked the activity yet could not cite any specific reasons for their approval. Twenty-five times informants stated that they liked the activity, two times as often as its rejection on the grounds of inexperience. The only other objection was lack of knowledge (3 statements).

Comparison.--Ranching and Automechanic appear to be only slightly related to one another. However, if one notes that they apply to a basic area of Indian behavior--mobility and transportation--there appears a relationship. The young Blood are concerned with the practical aspects of the activities. Both activities are judged good. Noticeably, the more traditional activity (the Blood were horse breeders and herders before becoming stock men, and they were induced to take up the latter activity by being allowed to trade horses for cattle: see Chapter I) seems not to need further justification than explicit approval. Thus, it might be inferred that the young Blood "know" that Ranching is a good activity but must point out that the newer activity, Automechanic, is also good. The relationship between these two popular activities is best illustrated by the following informant's opinion.

(Automech.) I like mechanic work. Make money at it. (Why like?) Oh . . . fixin' cars, takin' them apart. It's a good trade too.

461 (Ranch.) I like ranch work. It's a good job; an easy job. All you do is ride around, look after cattle, horses.

(Comparison) Ranching. You're around stock most of the time. All you do is look after cows, horses. It's steady too, but it's easier than mechanic.

The young man, a nineteen-year-old with a grade eight Anglican residential school education, likes the applied and economic aspects of Automechanic yet prefers the leisure and lack of restraint of Ranching. To him it is sufficient to be ". . . around stock most of the time." This he sees as being good. To this young man the "goodness" and general appeal of the outdoor stockman overrides the practical and monetary appeals of Automechanic. Another young man, who did not select Ranching among his favorites, made the following statement.

(Ranch.) I coulda' picked that with the rest (Farming, Carpenter, and Automechanic). (Question--Compare Ranching to Farming.) I like being near horses and cattle rather than sitting on a tractor. (Question--Compare Automechanic to Ranching.) Ranching, I'm more familiar with the outdoors, as I said before.

This young man changes his selections for two reasons: experience and preference. The impact of familiarity has been outlined above; however, his preference for the life of the stockman relates to his preference for the general "good"

461 which was illustrated in the previous statement. Interestingly, the preference for the more leisurely activity is related to transportation. Today, getting from one place to another depends upon the operation of one's motor vehicle, and, it can be said, that the ability to repair this vehicle is valued. It is an emergent instrumental value in that knowledge of auto repairing is one way to earn a living, one way to maintain possession of an otherwise expensive artifact, and has in it the basis for a new kind of personal mastery--man over machinery.

Automechanic and Ranching are not equivalent instrumentalities. Automechanic still carries the stigma of dirtiness, despite its practical worth. Ranching, in that it relates to the traditional values of the equestrian Blood, is more generally approved of, more generally valued. It is not something that the young Indian can aspire to directly. To become a Rancher one must have both capital and experience. One must also have access to land. Branding by itself is not a sufficient instrumentality; it occurs [557] only in the spring. Thus it is easier and more practical to aspire toward Automechanic because there is a greater chance of success in trying to manipulate the Agency personnel into sending one through "up-grading" than there is in trying to get land allotted to one's self or to obtain a loan to pur-

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[55] chase livestock. Practicality is the key-note in the comparison, and it is also involved in the comparison of the next two popular I.A.'s, Carpenter and Bronc Riding.

Carpenter.--Carpenter seems to be more popular than Bronc Riding. Both commanded a positive response from 52% of the sample; however, Carpenter was viewed less negatively (26 responses of which 21 were positive as opposed to 29 responses of which 21 were positive). Those who chose Carpenter as a generally popular activity did so on the grounds of previous experience (8 statements), long run economic benefits (7 statements), personal recognition and self satisfaction (7 statements), and personal independence (4 statements). Like Ranching it was seen as an active occupation (3 statements). However, the most frequent reason for choosing Carpenter was knowledge (14 statements). This latter reason, in contrast to Bronc Riding, indicates that Carpenter is an instrumental activity of the same order as Automechanic. Both tasks demand "knowledge" in greater proportion than "experience," i.e., they have to be learned. This emphasis would indicate that the activities are not wholly within the Reserve ideology. The assertion is slightly contravened by the rejections of Carpenter, lack of experience (6 statements) overrides lack of knowledge (4 statements), but these were the only concerns. Carpenter is seen in sharp relief. It is something you know or don't

461 know, and, as such, it commands less opinion than Bronc Rider (you don't have to ride to know about broncs"), and it is something that has to be learned through experience or training, primarily the latter.

Bronc Rider.--Bronc Riding is a highly specialized, frequently competitive activity. As a specialty it must be tried to acquire competency. In this manner it contrasts with Carpenter, yet, as it can be observed and in this sense "learned," one can form an opinion about it without real experience in the rodeo arena. Bronc Riding's most favorable attribute is its excitement (18 statements). Experience is important also (15 statements). Of tertiary importance is money (3 statements). The young Blood hold some reservations about accepting the activity, and these concern personal injury (2 statements). Bronc Riding is rejected on this basis as well. Twelve times informants mention personal injury in this regard. Equally important is lack of experience (12 statements). Rejection is not unequivocal. Four times informants reject it only to say that they really like the activity for its excitement. Typical of the positive response is:

> (Br. R.) Everybody likes that on the Reserve. Everybody tries that when they get out of school. Everybody wants to get up on a horse. It's real exciting. You can make some money at it too.

461 This informant also mentioned Bronc Riding and the rodeo in relation to one of the rejected I.A.'s, Doctor.

(Doctor) Most of the kids don't have the will power to go to University. Most of the kids would rather rope a steer. (Question--Why?) Well, they been brought up out here in the open, with cattle and horses. They'd just rather be in a rodeo. They'd rather ride across the arena than do that.

In rejecting Bronc Riding another informant said,

(Br. R.) Saddle Bronc. I never could ride a bronc; I'm scared to. It's kinda hard too. Not much money, the way I ride.

Another indicated:

(Br. R.) I don't like . . . I like watching. You gotta have the experience. If you just go and ride a bronc you are liable to murder yourself.

or

(Br. R.) Rodeo! It's too dangerous for me. I don't have the skill. I can't stay on a horse. Most rodeo people start young. I'm too old. [20 years old]

The contrast between the rodeo-ranching world and the milieu of the carpenter is brought out in the following.

(Carp.) I want to do that job. I was the best carpenter in the school [St. Mary's Residential School]. I like working with wood. I used to work at it in school. In the shop. (Question--Compare Ranching to Carpentry.) I'd rather rope. I like Branding. I like to be on a ranch. I like to handle cattle. (Question--Compare Calf Roping to Ranching.) Calf Roping. Because I can join the rodeo. (Question--Compare Bronc Riding to Calf Roping.) Calf Roping. Because I can make some money, it's easier. [Regarding Bronc Riding he had said, This is my sport. I was trying it last summer. It's just for fun.]

●461 The sum of these statements is, one may conclude again, that there is a complex of interests and values surrounding the ranching and rodeo activities which makes them somewhat different from the other activities, particularly those activities that relate to newer skills such as Automechanic and Carpenter. Examples further illustrating this difference are:

(Carp.) I was a carpenter on the Reserve two years ago, I'd like to learn some more about it.

(Carp.) I was taught pretty much about that in school. I like building.

(Carp.) I used to like carpenter. I took some wood work in school. (Question--Why?) Like at school, we did small things like cupboards. Make things for your own use. Like at our house, we got two big cupboards--still got 'em. You can be proud of your own work.

Summary of the Acceptable Activities

Automechanic and Carpenter are pragmatic material skills, abilities one has to learn to be proud of. On the other hand, stock handling and rodeo work are experiential endeavors. One does not "learn" them; rather, one has "experience" in them. The activity itself is valued in contradistinction to Automechanic and Carpentry where the results of the skill's acquisition are valued. Being a cowboy is valued in contrast to being able to fix a car or build a cupboard. Thus there is a contrast between the two aspects

461 of favored activities. Yet, there are similarities.

Money was mentioned in regard to all of the activities excepting Carpenter. Activity and Excitement were mentioned in regard to all of them excepting Automechanic (being able to fix one's car implies improved mobility). To the young Blood these aspects of the Instrumental Activities are "good" and it will be expected that those activities that do not exhibit these attributes will not be selected as popular instrumentalities.

The attributes of the preferred type of activity may be summed up as follows:

1. It is an activity that the individual Indian can conceivably experience or learn in school on the Reserve. And, therefore, Knowledge and Experience imply liking.

2. The activity will have either an applied, practical significance or product, or it will have experiential value.

   a. Applied tasks are learned skills which lead to such rewards as good wages, financial security, personal mastery and self-sufficiency.

   b. Experientially valuable tasks demonstrate one's ability to take part in the good life through an image which illustrates the excitement, activity, competition, freedom, leisure, healthiness of such activity.

   c. Neither of these types of activity implies deferred gratification. All rewards are immediate and are of personal rather than social value.

Comparison with College Students

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This description of the preferred type of instrumental activity is illustrative of a singular difference between the perception of instrumentalities by the young Blood and among the young people of our own culture. The young Blood when assessing I.A.I. activities examines what one does in the activity, what kinds of reward he may derive from the activity, his chances for succeeding in the activity--including the prerequisites for success--and how the activity relates to his assumptions about himself as a Blood Indian and to his assumptions about its relevance to the Blood community. The young American does not approach the problem of selecting instrumental activities in this manner.

In the recent study of the American college student by Nevitt Sanford, Beardslee and O'Doud portray the student as much less "pragmatic" in his selection of a career.

> Students are able to respond with interest and confidence to a wide variety of questions about the occupational world. They feel at ease in giving judgments about many occupations with which they have had minimal contact. Their responses to names of occupations reveal a complex structure of beliefs organized about dimensions of personality, styles of life, and social relationships associated with the world of work. On the other hand, it has been noted that careful questioning of students about formal job characteristics shows a very limited grasp of the day-to-day demands of these same occupations even for those jobs to which the student aspires.[1]

461 This cannot be said for the young Blood. They are not at ease in discussing many occupations or avocations. They cannot or will not discourse on the many activities about which they hold little knowledge, and, although their contact with some of the items in the inventory is highly speculative, their knowledge of the experiential world is thought to be more extensive than that of the middle class student in an American college. Their beliefs about instrumental activities are not organized around personality, life style, or social relations. Rather, they are organized around assumptions about what an occupation will do for you in specific experiential terms or what you can do with an oc-
[156] cupation in terms of specific goals. If life style, personality, or social relations enter in, they are phrased in such a way as to relate to a specific pattern of success desired by and relevant to all Blood, rather than to a specific person. By way of contrast:

> For students, occupation even specifies the personal qualities of its present and future members, providing a ready-made personality for those who cannot establish a secure identity from their own experience.[2]

181 The young Blood cannot go beyond the boundaries of experience to establish their identity. They have the most strenuous concern with this dimension. To the young Blood, what one has experienced and what one knows defines the domain within which one may conceivably seek success, and it is success not identity that the young Blood seek.

000 is success not identity that the young Blood seek. They do not,

> . . . talk primarily about the aspects of these occupations that might best be called their implications for a style of life. . . . on how a lawyer, doctor, or engineer and his family live rather than on the character of his work.[3]

461 What occupation or avocation means in terms of total life style is the least of the young Blood's concerns. The family of a Bronc Rider or an Automechanic does not enter into the picture. His concern is what can the activity do for him, what he can achieve through the activity. He cannot visualize, or at least such vision is irrelevant, implications of occupation beyond a number of specific goals. Furthermore, these goals are generally relevant to his community, the Blood Indian Reserve.

A Successful Blood

554 What is relevant to the Blood Indian Reserve in terms of goals is the image of a successful Indian (it is doubtful that many young Blood think of success in a transcultural setting). The successful Blood cannot be easily defined until the totality of the I.A.I. data has been surveyed. Yet, it is apparent from the discussion of the highly popular or acceptable I.A.'s that there are some criteria of social success among the Blood. Some of these may be tentatively identified. A successful Blood should have a

554 ready cash income and a relatively secure financial future. This cash and security should come primarily from his skill, his ability, rather than from investment or inheritance.

555 The successful Blood must then exhibit some mastery over the artifacts and occupants of his trade or home environment. He would do well to demonstrate this mastery through his skill in handling livestock or skill in some other outdoor [461] occupation. This outdoor occupation should have as concomitants activity, excitement, healthy manual labor, and the successful Blood should epitomize the results of such activity.

Rejected Instrumental Activities

461 The relevance of this tentative interpretation can be reinforced by examining the attributes of the frequently rejected instrumental activities. If some of the activities that are rejected exhibit the success goals discussed above, or if some of the attributes of the popularly acceptable activities are prominent among those of the rejected activities, then the profile must be modified. If the acceptable attributes are missing or are portrayed in negative terms, we shall then be able to proceed to listing young Blood instrumental values.

Bartender.--Most prominent among the rejected I.A.'s is Bartender. Thirty-three informants (83% of the sample)

461 expressed an opinion on this illustration, and of this group twenty-seven informants (82% of those with opinions) rejected it. Among those who did not reject it, Bartending's most redeeming feature was that it was not hard work and that it offered easy money (3 statements each). The vast majority of opinions, however, were flat unqualified rejections. There were twenty-seven statements indicating disvalue of the occupation. Most of the reasons given for rejecting Bartender had to do with Drinking or Drunkenness. Several informants indicated that they did not like drinking (10 statements). Others, four, cited their own personal drinking habits as reason for rejection. Beyond drinking and generalized negative valuation, Bartender possessed specific occupational characteristics of a negative sort. Bartenders were seen as frequently becoming involved in brawls (7 statements), and, because of this and its negative character, Bartending deprived one of friends (5 statements). Indeed, the mere vending of liquor to another was seen as a basically bad business (7 statements).

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It is apparent that similarly to the generally valued activities, Bartending has a broad and unspecific value valence. Like Branding-Ranching, for instance, Bartending does not need explanation. On one level Bartending is distinctly bad, while on another level it has specifically

461 273 detrimental attributes. Selling liquor, associating with drunks, participating in drunken brawls, losing one's friends combine with the general dislike of Bartending to make the activity disreputable and undesirable. It might be noted parenthetically that because of the general prohibition against Indian drinking in Alberta, Bartending is primarily a foreign activity. The Indian has no allegiance to a neighborhood bar or an "Indian" hang-out; legislation precludes it. The Blood's only relation to the liquor industry is through the extortionist bootlegger. In addition, in Montana, the Indian "watering spots" are essentially hostile places on alien ground, owned and occupied by unfriendly non-tribesman. In reality, then, to become a Bartender or a bootlegger in the only manner practicable, either in Montana or by becoming enfranchised or non-Indian, places one outside the community boundaries. Bartending is socially alienating, and again the young Blood cannot see the activity extricated from its social context. Thus the two positive aspects of Bartending, easy work and easy money, are strongly overridden by the negative and alienating attributes.

461 Store Keeper.--Closely following Bartender as a reject is Store Keeper. Store Keeper differs markedly in evaluation from Bartender. Numerically, Store Keeper appears roundly disliked; of twenty-eight opinions only two

461 are positive. The primary reason given for this dislike is that Store Keeping is boring, uninteresting, and confining (15 statements). This view is reinforced by five assertions that the informant would rather be out of doors. Other reasons given for rejecting Store Keeper are: Store Keeping is hard, tiring work (6 statements); the informant lacks the knowledge and experience necessary for the job (6 and 3 statements); one cannot gain recognition as a Store Keeper (4 statements); and Store Keeping pays poorly (4 statements). Boredom, confinement, poor wages, lack of social acclaim all cited in rejecting Store Keeper appear to be the alter ego of the positive reasons behind choice of acceptable I.A.'s. It is possible then that Store Keeping is qualitatively the reverse of the positively judged activities. Reasons cited in rejecting Store Keeper should be the prototype of the general pattern of rejection and of the young Blood's negatively held instrumental values. The attitudes expressed toward Store Keeping should also be strongly related to the organization of these negative values.

Cook-Baker.--These attitudes may be illustrated through the examination of the reasons used in rejecting the third unpopular activity, Cook-Baker. Twenty-six informants expressed an opinion on Cook-Baker, of whom twenty-two, or 85% rejected it. Cook-Baker was rejected most frequently

461 on the basis of lack of knowledge (14 statements). Like Store Keeper, it was also felt to be boring and confining (8 statements). Furthermore, it was detrimental to one's own personal esteem (7 statements), and informants felt that they lacked sufficient experience to occupy the role (7 statements). Among the four Blood who said they liked Cook-Baker the most frequent positive statement was in regard to withholding total rejection. The young Blood mentioned three times that they would like to learn about the occupation.

In many regards Cook-Baker is similar to Store Keeper. The young Blood see these activities as unrewarding and boring, and they maintain that they know little about them. These attitudes, when contrasted with the positively valued occupations and their concomitants indicate a basic split in Blood thinking. For this reason, then, it would be well to halt our progress through the rejected I.A.'s and examine these attributes. Some paired responses may illustrate the differences and similarities in the two tasks.

(St. K.) It just don't interest me. I'd rather be out in the open; rather than be tied down with a job that's indoors.

[562] (Cook) I feel that's more woman's work.

or

(St. K.) No. (Question--Why?) I got a quick temper. If I can't figure things out, I might destroy a lot of things.

461 (Cook) No. I never could make no flour into a dough. (Question--Like that kind of job?) No. It's kinda embarrassing to me.

or, a more knowledgeable account:

(St. K.) I'll never make enough money to own a store. I don't think I'd like keeping track of the account. It's kinda hard--I might go bankrupt.

[562] (Cook) I don't think I'd like that either. Sorta like a girl, cooking, washin' dishes, inside, tryin' to think of what kind of meal everyone would like.

and, finally,

(St. K.) Work in a store? You see food all day. You're selling it, buying it and selling it. At the end of the day you've got no appetite.

(Cook) Too hot a job. Stayin' inside all the time, under [over?] a hot stove and all that.

These illustrations bring out two points. First, being outdoors is basically desirable, as is being associated with livestock. "I'd rather be out in the open," is the key-note here. Justification for this desire centers on masculine temperament, avoidance of women's work, work associated with food, and personal embarrassment or unhealthy [562] circumstances. To the young Blood being associated for long periods of time with food is debilitating, frustrating, unmanly. The second point is related to this one, that being inside is detrimental to one's status, probably because of its association with women's work. In the light of the

461 above, we may expect to find being inside associated with a loss of prestige or self esteem, and, conversely, we may expect to find being outside and active associated with self esteem and recognition.

Here too, in the tabulation of reasons and rationalisations for the negative choices in regard to these two I.A.'s, Store Keeper and Cook-Baker, it is notable that knowledge (what one learns) is discussed more than experience (what one can do). Thus, even in the negative sense, those occupations that find their sources in non-Indian culture are learned, and those related to the Indian community are experienced.

526 461 Boxing.--There are, however, exceptions among the rejects. Bartending is one, and so is the next I.A. to be discussed, Boxing. Boxing is a very interesting activity. On the one hand 52% of the sample reject it, 21 out of 32 responses. On the other, 11 informants select Boxing as a favorite. Thus it is one of the activities that is differentially viewed by the sample as a whole. (The other such I.A. is Office Worker, which will be discussed at the beginning of the next chapter.)

In its positive aspect, Boxing is seen in much the same light as Bronc Riding. Seven times informants indicate that they believe it is good. Amplifying this unspecific reason they say that it is exciting (6 statements), and

461 that it is something that they can do on the basis of
526 previous experience (6 statements). Boxing is called healthy (4 statements) and active (4 statements). It is also seen as a vehicle to recognition (3 statements). Interestingly, reluctance to accept Boxing is justified on the grounds of previous knowledge (2 statements).

Rejections focus on personal injury or disfigurement (16 statements). Lack of experience is another reason for rejecting Boxing (6 statements). Specific damage to one's physical appearance is also cited (5 statements), as is the idea that Boxing is "bad" (4 statements). Boxing is called frightening, unhealthy, and overly aggressive three times each. Ambivalence toward rejection is expressed in terms of having previous experience or having some kind of recognition (2 statements each).

541 Boxing contrasts sharply with Bronc Riding. De-
526 spite sharing the attributes of excitement and experiential
461 understanding, they are alike in their most frequent reason for rejection: personal injury and lack of experience. Neither activity is primarily of the "learned" variety. Despite these similarities, Boxing and Bronc Riding are diametrically opposed to one another in general evaluation. Fifty-two per cent of the young Blood interviewed selected Bronc Riding among the generally acceptable, while fifty-

541 two per cent of the interviewees rejected Boxing. This dis-
526 tribution on the general level contrasts with the distribu-
461 tion of favorites. Bronc Riding was the fourth favorite, and Boxing was the eighth. On the basis of such a distribution it may be concluded that, although there are areas of similarity between the two, there are also aspects of dissimilarity which may be of some importance to the delineation of young Blood instrumental values. This can best be illustrated by comparing quotations.

(Br. R.) Well, I used to ride saddle Bronc a few years ago. (Question--Why?) It's the excitement of the game. The sport. It's a rough sport, a challenge.

(Boxer) I fought for about ten years, amateur and pro. . . . I haven't really quit. It's gettin' too rough since I turned pro. I box whenever I get the chance.

"Sport" appears to be the important word in the relationship between the two activities. Some further examples may indicate the nature of the relationship.

(Br. R.) I've done a lot of bronc riding and I like the sport. I've made some money at it and I hope to make some more. I guess it's the one sport I really like. It's just the sport of it and the money.

and,

(Br. R.) OK. Just for free time. Just for sport. Not to take it serious.

or,

(Boxer) It's my sport. (Question--Why?) I just like it for a sport.

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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541 or more explicitly,
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(Boxer) Boxing runs in my family. All my uncles are boxers. I hoped to be one. I started once but I failed to finish because of physical disability. It keeps your mind occupied, and it can be profitable if you train hard. I like activities. I don't like sitting around like some other guys. I learned a little judo, boxing, wrestling. I like sports. Indians are sportsmen. I like participating.

(Boxer) When I was going to boarding school that was the main sport. I boxed only a few fights, but I like it. It teaches a guy self-defense and keeps him in top shape.

and, to return to Bronc Riding:

(Br. R.) Get in shape, won't get old pretty fast. (Question--Rodeo?) I don't want to join the rodeo, just ride.

These selected quotations illustrate other levels of similarity between the activities. Both are considered "sports" which seems to imply a contest or a form of competition. Both are considered appropriately popular activities among the young Indian group. And, they are both seen as potentially profitable. Why then the discrepancy in popularity?

The difference between the two is alluded to in the preceding quotations, "Just for sport. Not to take it serious." "I don't want to join the rodeo, just ride." Bronc Riding has an applied and less formal competitive nature than does Boxing, and it relates to a primary popular concern of the Blood Reserve, ranching.

461 (Brand.) When you're living on a ranch you do that every year. It's a lot of fun doing that.

(Calf R.) It's, I like to be a roper. I'm not a roper but I like to do it. You have to learn it on a ranch.

(Br. R.) You have to break your own horses. You have to have saddle horses. We break our own. I'm not in the rodeo or anything like that. (Question--Compare Bronco Riding and Haying.) I like to tame horses. You can put a lot of pride in what you're doing. I like training them too. (Question--Compare as jobs.) Haying. You make money on that. Too many bronc riders on the Reserve.

[541] Although all of the young Blood would not view the relationship between stockman and bronc busting in the same light, it is felt that this is an apt characterization of the connection between the competitive rodeo aspect of Bronc Riding and its applied aspect. This correlation between applied and competitive sides does not apply to Boxing. Boxing, in order to reap the rewards of recognition and money, must be practiced in its most formal and competitive sense. As noted earlier, Boxing and Bronc Riding are both potentially injurious. However, Boxing implies, "Get a big nose and all kinds of bumps on your head. . . . too rough!" whereas Bronc Riding's injuries come only (?) to the inexperienced practitioner. Both activities indicate a desire on the part of the young Blood to master something; an animal or another human being. Both activities indicate a desire to stay in physical good health. However, Boxing

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526 implies injury or disfigurement. This aspect does not fit
541 in well with the young Blood desire to appear healthy and
461 successful. Again, both activities are in some way competitive and exciting, but Boxing is the more formal, the more demanding, the more rigorous in contrast to the casualness of Bronc Riding. Formality and commitment do not fit well with the free and leisurely aspects of the generally valued
526 stock raising activities. Finally, Boxing demands a certain
461 amount of overt aggression against another person.

> (Boxer) I never was interested in that. I never liked to fight other people. Maybe you get a weak opponent, you beat hell out of him, you get nothing for it. Maybe if I was a professional, get paid well for it . . . well . . . ?

To this young Blood, and by implication to many of his peers, violence for its own sake is not rewarding, ". . . you get nothing for it." He can only accept such violence if he gets paid well for it. Thus it is not the aggressive nature of Boxing that is rewarding, but rather what one can get for it. What one can get for or from Boxing must be weighed against its disabilities. Boxing is not part of the casual yet rewarding stock raising complex. It is injurious, and it is formal and demanding. It is violent, violent toward other people. These disabilities contravene several aspects of what has been tentatively identified as Blood values. In Blood terms Boxing has

526 neither applied or experiential significance; only one young
461 man said he liked getting hit. It is rather a devious road to becoming the healthy and attractive successful man. Like Bartending it involves one in brawling and unfriendliness, and, despite its potentiality for gaining recognition, how can it procure social rewards from an unfriendly community? Thus, for the general Blood populace, Boxing is rejected on the general level. However, for some few, in this case one-fourth of the sample, it is a prized favorite. In large degree, then, the dichotomous distribution of Boxing is a continuing reflection of the young Blood's practical assessment of "what can the activity do for me?"

Summary

461 [181] The research summarized in this chapter has established, first, the stock-handling complex of instrumental values and, secondly, the primacy of practicality as a criterion for choice or rejection of instrumental activities. It was indicated in regard to Branding-Ranching and Bronc Riding that there is a general valuation among the young Blood of activities associated with horsemanship or the cowboy kind of life. More than half the sample selected this kind of activity as desirable; sixty-five per cent selected Ranching and fifty-two per cent the more dangerous Bronc Riding. This would indicate a strong preference for these activities.

461 It has, however, not yet been possible to isolate the basis for this preference. Possibilities, derived from the comparison between the frequently acceptable and rejected, that relate to the stockman type of activity are the informal instructured nature of the occupations, freedom from boredom and inactivity, being out of doors, healthiness or appearing so, and avoiding drawn out or repetitive tasks. [562] It is thought significant that the image portrayed by the attributes of the stockman kind of activity is masculine in contrast to the feminine image associated with the negatively valued activities.

181 Acceptance and favoritism are also related to the young Blood's attitude toward practicality. Practicality consists of three interrelated variables. 1) Practical prerequisites such as knowledge, experience, and opportunity which condition the possibilities for success. 2) Practical utility within the Blood milieu and a desire for practical mastery over things or persons. 3) Practical assessment of prerequisites, utility, and rewards for pragmatic success. [461] Thus, the young Blood do not select an activity on the basis of what they will be if they undertake it, but, rather, they select an activity for what they must do to derive the personal gratification they desire from participation. Personal gratification in this regard is wholly or partly in

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

CHAPTER IV

THE LESS FREQUENTLY CITED I.A.I. CHOICES

Office Worker and Haying, a Contrast

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A convenient bridge between the frequently selected acceptable and rejected activities and those activities selected less frequently is the activity Office Worker. It is an "exceptional" activity, which is at the same time a "favorite," a low ranking generally acceptable activity, and a rather strong reject. It elicited a considerable amount of opinion, pro and con, so it is apparently well known. Among the twenty-nine informants commenting upon it thirteen accepted it and sixteen rejected it. As mentioned earlier, opinion on Office Worker divides the sample roughly into thirds. However, despite this peculiar distribution of opinion one can find considerable correlation between the activity and the patterned rejection outlined in the previous chapter.

Office Worker

As Office Worker is rejected more frequently than it is accepted, it shall be treated primarily as a lesser reject.

461 The reasons for this rejection are boredom and confinement (20 statements), and lack of knowledge (9 statements). Office Work is considered too intellectual (4 statements), and two young Blood see themselves as non-intellectual. On the positive side, the thirteen informants who judged the activity acceptable saw Office Work as easy (7 statements) and not involving hard physical labor (3 statements). It is seen as a vehicle to personal recognition (5 statements) and conducive to self esteem (3 statements). Office Work is called a "good" occupation (4 statements) and good paying (3 statements). Reluctance to fix upon either positive or negative assessment is expressed in many ways. Most frequently, on the acceptable side, boredom is cited in withholding judgment. Conversely, on the reject side, knowledge about Office Work, the ease of work, and economic concerns are often cited. Related to these ambivalences is the statement that the individual informant likes his freedom (4 statements). Thus Office Worker appears to be all things to all men. As such it allowed an opportunity for the expression of what might be called deviant opinions.

(Off. W.) The changing way of life for the Indian, away from manual labor. (Question--Like it?) Yes. (Question--Why?) I'm interested in teaching and that. Maybe newspaper work. (Question--Why?) You don't have to use your physical strength, just your brain.

Other favorable opinions are less deviant in content

● 46 yet contrast with the expected young Blood attitudes.

(Off. W.) Business! Makin' money at it! Workin' inside, regular hours. The kind of business doesn't matter.

(Off. W.) I guess because there's not too much work in it, physical work. Maybe 'cause I love to write. That's what I'm working for. Some of the jobs on the Reserve aren't stable. Office work, that's good pay, steady, good bankin'.

Although these young men are desirous of being inside, avoiding hard physical labor, and therefore conflict with the ideal pattern of the healthy outdoor rancher, they do not fall into the pattern discussed in relation to the American college student. These young Blood still assess the activity in terms of what it can do for them, not as a style of life. Even the first quotation, which might be thought of as relating to style of life, seems to indicate some concern for the attributes of the activity. However, these opinions are deviant. The expected young Blood response is more frequent.

(Off. W.) I don't like being in an office all the time. Not at a desk. I get enough of it at school.

(Off. W.) Just workin' in an office. I never thought too much of workin' in an office. I don't like this kind of work. I think I'd be better off workin' with machinery, livestock.

(Off. W.) I'm not . . . too interested in sitting in an office all day. Besides, I don't think I have the brains for some office jobs.

461 One of the points illustrated by the above quotations is the wide range of interpretations put upon Office Work. This would seem to indicate that Office Worker is not well integrated into the organization of the young Blood's value system. Indeed, Office Worker receives an interesting interpretation by some of those who choose it. It is seen as administrative rather than entrepreneurial by some.

> (Off. W.) Maybe work up here at the Indian Office. Maybe. (Question--Why?) Maybe help the Indians. Solve their problems and all that.

Office Work is also seen as a vehicle to personal recognition.

> (Off. W.) I like to meet a lot of people like that, to make some friends. Make a good name for the Indian. To get a lot of respect from the white men so that they can look up to the Indian.

In both of these cases the young men appear to be placing a 554 461 semi-traditional interpretation on Office Worker. To help others is to be generous (one of the ten frequently cited reasons for accepting an I.A.), and to have recognition is to be of some social consequence. Also, to provide an object of admiration for white men is also an emphasis of achieved status. These young Blood seem to be characterizing Office Work as a status, a status related to the man of political and social consequence of the past--the generous, helpful, successful man. The fact is that today most of the Indians

461 554 employed as office workers are employed by some unit of the Federal Government or local Indian administration. Thus, in fact, persons who do hold these positions do have manifest political power from being associated with the white administrators and their decision making. Because the position is politically powerful, it does allow the occupant of the position to dispense charity and to have both self esteem and recognition. From this, and from the dispersal of opinion about Office Work, it can be seen that it is not thought of as it might be in white society, and that it is not wholly subsumed by the Indian value system. Therefore, although the activity is generally well known, it is poorly understood. It, too, is an emergent I.A. as is Automechanic.

461 It is the more "Indian" judgments, as expressed in the pattern derived from the popularly acceptable I.A. choices, that appear to be most influential in the acceptance or rejection of Office Worker. Money, ease of occupation, long term economic benefits, these must overcome the general dislike for indoor occupations and the dislike of inactivity. Also, the consistent concern over knowledge and experience is reflected in the young Blood's comments on the intellectuality of the occupation. Therefore, despite poor understanding, misinterpretation, and the lack of fit between the occupation and the Indian value system, Office Worker is

461 judged on Indian criteria. It is selected by those who favor it on the basis of personal abilities and specific goals. In this regard it is very much like Boxing. A few of the sample population feel they can achieve the recognition and success they desire through this occupation. They, like those who favor Boxing, are willing to ignore a particular edict of the Blood value system. As the Boxers are willing to part with handsomeness, the Office Workers are willing to undergo boredom. However, in both cases, those who choose this occupation do so because they seek a specific goal. Office Worker, Automechanic, Carpenter, and Boxer are all means to an end, all precipitates from United States or Canadian white-man culture.

Haying

In direct contrast is Haying. Cutting "prairie wool" or hay has been an Indian occupation since the turn of the century.[1] It has been suggested that the prairie hay camp is a modern counterpart of or a hold-over from the hunting camp of bygone days.[2] Today, however, it is only infrequently that men camp at the cutting site. It is now a wholly practical commuter concern, and the young Blood describe it in that fashion. There are twenty statements ascribing short run economic worth to Haying. Conversely, it is rejected most frequently on the basis of limited long

461 run economic worth (7 statements). Two reservations about accepting Haying mention "having something for the future" and refer to its limited long range potential. Haying is recognized as hard physical labor, both in the sense of beneficial physical exercise and in the sense of undesirable physical exhaustion (5 and 6 statements each). Experience is another criterion for acceptance (6 statements) or rejection (5 statements). In rejecting Haying, the young Blood hold reservations concerning the short run economic potential of the activity (3 statements), and their previous experience at it (2 statements).

The Blood assessment of the activity is pragmatic and ethnographically correct. Haying is a practical economic expedient to the young Blood. With little intellectualization, little learning, the young Blood can obtain the economic necessities of their lives. As one young man put it,

> (Hay.) You can look around and see a lot of prairie . . . it's like money in the bank. You just go out and cut it [hay]. It's money. You know how it is, you need money to buy things.

No frills, no overt valuation, it is purely and simply an expedient. If pressed, informants can find intrinsic worth in Haying.

> (Hay.) I don't mind haying. I'd do it. I've done it. I don't mind; if I got a job hayin' I'd take it. (Question--Why?) It's good hard work. I like to do it. Especially to keep in shape.

461 The worth, however, is in what Haying allows the individual to do, not in the intrinsic attributes of the activity. Haying does not do anything for its practitioners. It is primarily a prairie commonplace.

> (Hay.) Haulin' hay. That's a good job for me I been doin' that last week. I like that.

Nearly fifty per cent of the sample feel the way that this young man does; nineteen informants indicated they approve of Haying. Yet, some young men reject it. In general, those that do, do so in the same uncomplicated manner as those who favor it.

> (Hay.) On haying you got to have a steady job, a place to stay. On haying it's hard. On haying it's too hot. I worked haying last year, two weeks. I couldn't even lift the bales three high. I like cuttin' hay on the tractor. If the guy doesn't pay enough it's no good. Last year the guy paid me $6. I said, "I'll never work on the hay again."

Haying, like other masculine endeavors, is often hard. It is hot and demands physical strength. It can be fun, however, riding the tractor, or it can be rewarding, if one is paid enough. Haying is quite different from Office Work. It has neither the complexities of understanding nor those of ascertaining how to succeed. Haying is seen in a less fuzzy fashion than Office Work. It is viewed in the clear pragmatic fashion typical of the Blood. Also, prerequisites for working in the hay fields are few, and anyone who desires to

46 [554] can do so. Thus, in contrast to Office Work, Haying cannot do much for one's status. Ranchers, cowhands, farmers, nearly all Blood have hayed or do hay every year.

Haying fits nicely into the patterned orientations outlined in the previous chapter. It is an unrestrictive, active, masculine, immediately rewarding occupation. How- [554] ever, it is lacking in two important aspects. Haying does not provide for one's future nor does it provide any recognition or self esteem. It is moderately popular on the general level, and, remarkably, it is the second "favorite" following Automechanic. This again illustrates the practical aspect of Blood valuation. Haying is an applied skill, albeit an Indian one. As maintained above, Haying provides the means of doing things, but nothing else. Haying is also something that everyone knows how to do. Because it is well known and has few prerequisites, it has a high potential for success; at least for its promised rewards, money and good health. Thus, Haying further illustrates the aspect of Blood pragmatism that was mentioned in regard to Automechanic and Ranching. One chooses "favorites" on the basis of success potential and what one can conceivably do. This success potential is composed of one's abilities, experience, and opportunities. Haying, as a commonplace is high in this potential. However, as mentioned above, it promises little in the way of permanent reward, financial or social.

Remaining Acceptable I.A.'s

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Farming.--Farming, although eliciting the same amount of opinion as Haying, is viewed more negatively. Of the twenty-five informants expressing opinions on Farming, only seventeen approved of it as an instrumental alternative. This comprises forty-three per cent of the whole sample or sixty-eight per cent of those with opinions. Farming, like Haying, ranks high as a "favorite," being number five on the list. It is selected as a positive alternative on the basis of previous experience (9 statements), a desire for farm ownership (6 statements), good wages (5 statements), previous knowledge (4 statements), and beneficial hard work (3 statements). Some reluctance was expressed by those who shared these opinions in that Farming was described by them as dirty work (2 statements) and in that some did not feel that they had the proper experience (3 statements).

The persons who rejected Farming did so because they felt it had little long range economic security (8 statements), it was hard, tiring work (6 statements), they lacked experience and knowledge (5 statements each), and it paid poorly (3 statements). Ambivalence toward this view was expressed in terms of wages and economic benefits. Thus the young Blood continue to view occupations in the pragmatic

461 sense. Farming in Alberta is speculative. For the young Blood it is in reality not as good an alternative as Rodeoing, Haying, Automechanic, or Ranching. In the environment of southern Alberta technological knowledge is valuable as a personal skill. Cutting hay, which requires little investment, or using other environmental potentials, are sensible alternatives to Farming. The young Blood are seen as again accurately assessing the success potential of the activity, and, having done so, judging the activity in regard to secondary concerns.

Calf Roping.--Calf Roping follows Haying and Farming in popularity. It is approved of by fourteen informants (35% of the sample) and rejected by nine informants (22.5% of the sample). Of those with opinions, 61% approve of Calf Roping. It falls into the category of stockman-rodeo hand, yet, as a more complex specialization it is less popular. It is proclaimed exciting and easy work (3 and 4 statements), and is accepted on the basis of previous experience (3 statements). On the other hand, lack of experience is good reason for rejecting it (13 statements). Knowledge, or rather the lack of it, is also important (9 statements). A third reason for rejection was the limited economic potential (5 statements). This rejection was conditioned by statements of generalized liking (3 statements) and a desire to learn how

461 to rope (5 statements). However, Calf Roping appears to be generally good and valuable like the other livestock associated activities (11 statements). This view is illustrated by the reluctance expressed to reject the activity outright because the informant valued the excitement it provided (4 statements). As an activity associated with livestock, Calf Roping is seventh among "favorites," but as a generally acceptable activity it is less popular because of specialization and its effect upon the success potential of the activity.

(C. R.) I like to do that. Trouble is I got no horse. You gotta have a trained horse.

(C. R.) I don't own a horse, got no cattles.

(C. R.) I don't know. The only place I'd learn calf roping is in Brockett, and I don't go there very much. I'm in school most of the year.

(C. R.) I like to watch it and all. I don't go out for it much. I never roped much. It's a good sport I know, but . . .

(C. R.) I've always dreamed of becoming a cowboy. I haven't tried that [Calf Roping]. I've tried others, bare back. . . . I've rode saddle bronc before. It's kinda dangerous. I've been hurt on it before, not bad. My parents told me to quit riding and start roping. That's what I'm going to start training for next spring. Right now I'm buying the equipment for calf roping.

The young Blood value Calf Roping as an adjunct to the horse-cattle complex. As one aspect of the cattle complex it is highly valued, as indicated by the final quotation

461 above and the presence of this specialized task in the roll of "favorites." This favoritism conflicts with the proposition that the young Blood choose their "favorites" on the basis of success potential. However, as a relatively non-injurious, exciting, and widespread sport, it should be 529 ranked high by the young men of the Reserve. Today, there 541 is a Blood Indian roping club, composed of both adults and 517 young men. Its "jackpot" roping events are well attended by both the young men and the more proficient adult practitioners. Thus it is thought to be a "favorite" because of the desirable social and experiential aspects of the activity and not to be in conflict with the assertion that "favorites" are generally of high success potential. The Blood value this activity because of its athletic and competitive nature, because it is not highly injurious, because it fits closely the casual and free pattern of the stock raising complex, and because a number of Blood have been and are now successful at it. For example, at a recent All-Indian Rodeo in Browning, Montana, most of the recipients of "day-money" or the major prize money in Calf Roping were Bloods.

461 It is felt, therefore, that Calf Roping is another 554 example of the powerful pull of the Ranching-rodeo value orientation. These activities share attributes that are generally valued by the Blood, and it is felt that the Blood

consider it better to be successful at these activities than to be successful in the other more practical and possibly non-Indian activities.

Chicken Dancer.--Office Worker and Chicken Dancer conclude the list of acceptable activities despite its affinities to white-man culture. Easy work was cited in reference to preferring Calf Roping, and, as will be seen, matters of personal pride and recognition will relate Chicken Dancing to Office Worker. With this comment we turn to Chicken Dancing.

It is noticeable that Chicken Dancing, more generally called "fancy dancing," is an aesthetic endeavor. Throughout western Canada, Indian Days, rodeos and stampedes feature this kind of dancing as a part of the entertainment. It also occurs at the more religious Sun Dance ceremonies on the Blackfoot Reserve at Gleichen, Alberta and at the Blood Sun Dance. There it is one of the social events surrounding the sacred Medicine Lodge ceremony. Chicken Dancing at the Indian Days and rodeos is often rewarded with prize money in much the same pattern as the rodeo events, but at the Sun Dance participation and the admiration of the spectators are the only rewards.

Twenty-two individuals held an opinion on Chicken Dancing, of whom thirteen, or fifty-nine per cent, favored it.

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This is thirty-three per cent of the whole sample. Chicken Dancing was also the tenth ranked favorite. It was selected as an acceptable activity on the basis of general valuation (5 statements), previous experience (4 statements), and for the fun and enjoyment one derived from participation (3 statements). The two main reasons for rejecting Chicken Dancing were lack of previous experience (10 statements), and lack of previous knowledge (9 statements). However, most interesting was the injection of concern over one's personal pride into the matter. It occurred three times in two forms; loss of pride occurred three times while, on the other hand, it was the informant's judgment that he did not have sufficient self esteem to appear in costume in public.

Chicken Dancing seems somewhat different from the other popular I.A.'s in that it is decidedly unpractical, and in that it involves enjoyment on the one hand and potential loss of pride or self esteem on the other. From what has transpired in the preceding chapter and in the earlier part of this chapter one would not expect these two attributes to appear in the same I.A. selection. Yet,

> (Ch. D.) I do chicken dance. That's why I like it. I want to keep it up. I started to dance when I was 4-5 years old. I still dance. I get money on that. Go to Indian Days, get a few dollars.

The practicality of cash income is injected into the assess-

535 ment along with personal enjoyment of the activity. Chicken
461 Dancing is seen in other fashions also.

(Ch. D.) Like to dance. (Question--Do you?) I did one time and I like it. To keep the Indian ways.

(Ch. D.) I used to do this kind of dancing. Actually, I had my own outfit when I was a kid. My dad has them now. I don't use them. (Question--Why quit?) Actually, I didn't really quit. When I get a chance to join one of those dances I take my outfit and join.

Thus the "outfit" is an important adjunct to participation.

(Ch. D.) I like to dance, I'm sorry to say I don't know how. I enjoy watching those chicken dancers, but I never tried. None of my relatives I could ask to make me an outfit.

The outfit is analogous to the horse in the Calf Roping evaluation. One must have one.

(Ch. D.) I don't like to be seen like that in a crowd. (Question--Like dancing?) It's good for guys who are used to it.

(Ch. D.) No! (Question--Why?) I don't like people to look at me.

(Ch. D.) I never did like going to those dances. Never did appeal to me. Never did when I was a kid.

(Ch. D.) Before I went to school I used to do a lot of chicken dancing. I lived with my grandmother. I still like to do it now. I went to the Sun Dance. (Question--Why?) It's just like white dances. Dancing, songs, it's better than sitting down watching other people dance.

Chicken Dancing is like rodeo events and athletics in general. It depends upon the opportunities of one's childhood whether or not a person will choose to specialize

535 461 in it. Some people do not because they are easily embarrassed, some feel they are prohibited from doing it because they have no outfit, while others find it an enjoyable and sometimes profitable pastime. The young men see Chicken Dancing as related to their aboriginal heritage and as a form of competition in the modern world. It is probably from this pair of attributes that the influence of shame is derived.

[157] Bashfulness and shame appear to relate to Chicken Dancing and to speechmaking in school (in relation to Politician and to Priest-Clergy). It is thought to be significant that the young Blood perceive appearing in public in these roles as possibly shame provoking. In the present case, Politician and Priest-Clergy will be discussed later in the chapter, such considerations appear to limit participation to ". . . guys who are used to it." This again would indicate the importance of experience as a meaningful variable, cited ten times in the negative about dancing, and how it becomes a compelling concern. Chicken Dancing, it can be seen, evokes bashfulness. Without the experiential ability to compete or perform successfully, one cannot achieve either the intrinsic pleasures or the financial rewards of Chicken Dancing. Thus Chicken Dancing can be seen to relate more closely to the generally valuable and experiential activities such as Bronc Riding, Ranching and the like than it does to

535 461 554 the learned and practical activities such as Automechanic and Carpenter. It is a medium for demonstrating skill and ability in an Indian frame of reference, and, because of this it is related to social acclaim, personal esteem. This would indicate that general valuation covers both the equestrian and traditional activities. Also, like Calf Roping, as a potentially valuable social achievement, it is among the activities listed as "favorites." Here again is an example of the necessity to succeed in an activity for it to be of value to a specific individual. In Chicken Dancing one competes or participates only when the likelihood of embarrassment is slight.

461 The Less Frequently Cited Rejects

As among the acceptable activities there is a gradual decline in expressed opinion among the rejects. The activities discussed here elicited less opinion and less solid rejection than the ones already discussed: Bartender, Store Keeper, Cook-Baker, Boxer, and Office Worker. Indeed, Office Worker belongs among these I.A.'s, but it was discussed in relation to Haying because of its dual nature.

Barber.--Beginning with Barber we note that, of the twenty-six informants expressing an opinion on it, seventeen reject it. They do so because they see it as boring and confining (13 statements), they feel that they lack the knowledge

461 (7 statements) and experience (5 statements) necessary for the task. They feel it lacks long run economic security (4 statements), and, surprisingly, they say that barbering is a dirty job (3 statements). As for the nine young Blood who find Barber acceptable, their reasons are that they have previous knowledge or experience (7 statements, 6 statements), that Barber is good paying (4 statements), that it has long range economic benefits, and that it provides for personal freedom (3 statements each). Some reluctance is expressed in regard to these positive views on the basis of boredom (3 statements) and insufficient knowledge (2 statements).

Barber is closely analogous to the negative prototypes Store Keeper and Cook-Baker. It is boring, unfamiliar, and the rewards for success appear to be insufficient for it to gain acceptance. Yet, Barber is not rejected as unanimously as the previously examined rejects. There are two reasons for this. First, in Cardston there is a successful Indian Barber. He has had considerable success on both the social and the financial planes. He has been elected to tribal office, is a participant in a number of the sporting clubs, and is an official of the Blood Indian Band Credit Union. Second, many of the young Blood, while in residential school, were required to cut one another's hair. Thus many young men have had considerable experience in the role. For

461 these reasons, it is not surprising for a Barber to be viewed as a less vehement reject. The task is rejected as a poor alternative to the popularly acceptable ones.

(Barber) I guess that's a good business. (Question--Like to learn it?) Oh yeah. I always wanted to learn that too. I guess it takes a little time. I used to do that at school, but the little boys were getting after me. I guess I wasn't doin' a very good job.

In this statement the ambivalence toward taking up an activity which one does not do well is illustrated, as well as the ambivalence toward the particular task. The informant merely "guesses" that it's a good job. He is a bit dubious about his ability to acquire the skill, and he knows from previous experience that he is not sufficiently skilled at the present. A more typical response is:

(Barber) (shakes head) Just wait for guys to come and get a hair cut. Not much money either. You're inside too.

or,

(Barber) I don't like to cut somebody's hair. Question--Why?) Some got lice.

In the case of Barber it is apparent that the occupation is fairly well known, yet it is negatively perceived. This is further substantiation for the three major aspects of the negative aspect of Blood values, limited practicality, the rejection of indoor professions, and negative success potential.

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Priest-Clergy.--Priest-Clergy contrasts with Barber in many ways. It is rejected by 80% of those that have an opinion on it, in contrast to 65% for Barber, yet only 50% of the sample had a concrete opinion on it. The reasons behind rejection were: lack of experience (11 statements), lack of religiosity (3 statements), the morality of Priests (4 statements), and the education required for the priesthood (3 statements). There were also eleven statements of general dislike.

On the positive side there were four statements indicating that it was good to be a Priest, three statements of liking for the clerical calling, and three statements imputing generosity to Priests because they help others. However, these positive views of Priest-Clergy were contravened by conditional statements by the informants. There were two statements indicating that some young Blood thought Priests were liars, and two more inferring that the Priesthood precluded living the good life.

On the negative side, rejections were conditioned by six statements indicating that the informants thought the priesthood a good calling, five statements questioning the informant's moral qualifications, and two statements each concerning a lack of self-confidence, a lack of experience, and a desire for comfort and luxury. Priest-Clergy seems

467 poorly understood but at the same time strongly disliked. It is apparent from the foregoing discussion that the Priest-Clergy is not in the center of the young Blood's field of instrumental values. Both reasons for acceptance and reasons for rejection are tangential to the patterns discerned in relation to the highly popular or frequently rejected I.A.'s. It would seem, therefore, that the young Blood do not consider themselves particularly suited for religious activities, especially in the light of their concern for priestly morality, religiosity, and personal morality, and have not strongly considered Priest-Clergy as a legitimate alternative.

Doctor.--Another of the professions, Doctor, follows Priest-Clergy in unpopularity. Twenty-one informants commented upon it, of whom 71% rejected it. The primary reason for this rejection was lack of knowledge (13 statements). Following this are eleven statements of dislike, eight statements indicating lack of experience, seven statements in regard to Doctors' educational and intellectual accomplishments, six statements rejecting a Doctor's responsibilities, and five statements calling it hard tiring work. These views were conditioned by the assertion that it was a good job (4 statements) and an indication of lack of knowledge.

On the positive side there were four statements indicating a liking for the profession, three statements men-

461 tioning the intelligence of Doctors, their good financial rewards, and the ideas that it takes determination and intelligence to become a Doctor (3 statements each). It was also indicated that the young Blood recognized the value placed upon this occupation by the surrounding white community (2 statements).

The view of the young Blood of Doctor is in the realistic and practical vein indicated earlier. They realize that this is a highly specialized profession and that it is a demanding job. Thus, in these respects it does not fit the popular pattern, while at the same time it falls outside of the pattern of the negative prototypes. This indicates that Doctor is a legitimate alternative for but a few young Blood. It is interesting to note that both Doctor and Priest-Clergy are seen as generous roles, roles in which one can help others. This is also true of the final I.A. to be discussed, Politician.

Politician.--Politician is called generous or a way to help others five times, and it is called a "good" job four times. However, these are the only opinions indicating that it is an acceptable activity. Like the preceding two I.A.'s, Doctor and Priest-Clergy, Politician is marginal as a reject. All of these activities elicit a large number of ambivalent or "no response" opinions: Doctor, 19; Priest-

461 Clergy, 20; Politician, 20. This places them near the activities labeled "no response" or ambivalent activities in Table 10. Thus one would not be wrong in holding some reservations about the opinions expressed in rejecting these activities.

In the case of Politician, however, seventy per cent of those persons holding an opinion viewed it negatively. This would indicate that only six persons in a sample of [554] forty saw it as acceptable. The reasons for rejecting Politician are lack of knowledge (15 statements), general dislike (13 statements), lack of experience (7 statements), distrust of politicians (3 statements), distrust of having to wield authority (3 statements), and the limited possibilities for recognition in this role (3 statements). Ambivalence toward these reasons for rejection were expressed in terms of general valuation (3 statements), and because of insufficient knowledge for a decision (3 statements).

Discussion

From the foregoing it appears that there are some similarities between Doctor, Priest, and Politician in the eyes of the young Blood. It does appear that these activities are less well understood than any other activities discussed as acceptable or rejected. This in turn relates to the fact that all of the persons who occupy these positions

461 are seen by the young Blood to be white men. They are seen as belonging to the white community. However, it is very important to note that the young Blood's view of these professions is not the same as a white man's view. Except in the case of Priest-Clergy, it is not the style of life that is being objected to; rather the young Blood judged these activities in terms of value laden assessments or persons occupying the roles inherent in these activities.

Indeed, it would seem that the young Blood are interpreting the meanings of these occupations with an eye to the past. During aboriginal past and the early Reserve years there were Blood who occupied positions analogous to the roles of Doctor, Politician, and Priest-Clergy.[3] However, these occupations were not specialized separate entities, nor were they activities that could be directly and overtly sought after in the manner of today. The medical practitioner of fifty to seventy-five years ago on the Blood Reserve would probably be a religious functionary and a strong political figure.[4] This individual would only occasionally seek to advance his position as a medical or religious practitioner through training or specialization. The general rule was that one became knowledgeable in these areas through contact with supernatural beings and through the possession of supernatural power.[5] The possession of numerous medicine bundles,

756 experience in the handling of such religious fetishes, and
555 the practical application of such power were the avenues to success in such activities much as knowledge and experience lead to success today. Indeed, this power concept pervaded all aspects of Blood life, there being no firm line drawn between the effects of supernatural power and individual ability. Thus it would be likely for a man knowledgeable in the arts of curing, in the handling of religious fetishes, and in their application to be successful in the political domain as well. In those days, the successful man needed power to obtain economic and spiritual rewards, and, on the basis of his redistribution of this natural largesse, his political stock rose and fell.[6] Conversely, a man could become one of some moment through his intelligent participation in the economic aspect of the bundle complex. By wisely investing his horse capital in various bundles, by selling and purchasing a number of these bundles, a man could rise to notoriety.

461 As the aboriginal equivalents to the roles Doctor, Priest-Clergy, and Politician were valued as expressions of success, one might expect them to be valued today. To some degree they are valued; each occupation was seen by a few young Blood as "good." On the other hand, the young Blood's specific opinion did not reinforce this positive view. It

461 is postulated that this is because the contemporary separate specializations do not fit the pattern of their traditional cultural models. For example, Priest-Clergy was called too moral and standing in the way of the good life. In the past, as power pervaded all aspects of Blood life, the religious functionary could benefit in military, economic, and social areas, and was not called upon to give up worldliness. In regard to Doctor, the medical practitioners of the past were not always generous with their services as are the doctors of today who are employed by the Indian Affairs Branch in the Blood Indian Out-Patient Clinic. Neither were they necessarily responsible for their cures (the cure was effected by a supernatural agent who was solicited for aid by the [829] functionary). Finally, Politician is looked upon by the young Blood of today as untrustworthy and authoritarian. In the past political figures could only lead through generosity, and were compelled to strive to maintain the good will of their "constituents."

757 This confusion can be partially illustrated by re-
461 ferring to some informant comments on the subject. Comparing Doctor to Medicine Man:

> (M. M.) I don't know about that. I don't know exactly what medicine men do. I wouldn't know if he's curing me or not. I know my grandfather tells me that I pretty near got lost [died], but he was the one to cure me.

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461 From the same informant:

(Doctor) I think that guy . . . If a person wants to be a doctor . . . It takes a good education which I don't have. I think it's good to know a little bit about how a doctor works.

In this case the informant indicates he has little information by which to judge either activity, yet he appears to think that both activities can be understood by an Indian like himself. Another view of Medicine Man:

(M. M.) We don't do that nowadays. (Question--Interested?) If they was still on it, I'll be interested.

It would appear from this statement that the change from supernaturalism to medical science is not thought of as irrevocable. This informant appears to equate the two implicitly. To some the change is more final.

(M. M.) Indian doctor! (Question--Interested?) I don't want to be an Indian doctor because I haven't got the power . . . I guess.

This young man is the son of a recently deceased Blood medicine man.

To many of the young men in the sample acquiring the white doctor's necessary knowledge and education is mysterious.

(Doctor) I don't think I have any interest in this. (Question--Why?) I don't know. To me, this is a lot harder to be, a doctor. It takes a lot of things.

(Doctor) Takes too much brains to be a doctor and having too much brains can drive you crazy when you're

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older. Cutting people up, making an operation, it's too risky. You have to be patient with your patients, which I haven't got.

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Similar analogies are available between Politician and Chief Making (Investiture). The same son of the medicine man had this to say:

(Polit.) How do you call this? Politics. No, I won't be a chief or . . .

(Ch. M.) I'm not old enough for that. (Question--Good idea?) I don't know.

Another younger man said:

(Polit.) I wouldn't want to be a politician. I haven't got any . . . If I do, I don't think I'll know what to do.

(Ch. M.) I don't want to be a chief. There are too many things to do, too many people depend on you. If you don't help them they will go against you. I don't want to be a councilor because I can't stand up on a stage, too shy.

and the reverse of the above,

(Polit.) I don't know nothing about it. I don't like it. That's what everybody is doing on the council; trying to force somebody to do something. Some are good; some are no good.

(Ch. M.) I don't know nothing about it. I don't want to go on that stand, be seen, put that wig on. I'm shy that's all.

and a highly acculturated young man,

(Polit.) I know I haven't got the education. . . . I started too late. Political affairs are too much trouble; too much hardship involved--a lot of disappointment.

(Ch. M.) If this is a member of the council--I wouldn't want to be him. They pull mostly for them-

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selves. People think all the councilors are like that. I wouldn't want that.

These contrasts between Doctor and Medicine Man and between Politician and Chief Making are interesting. There are definite and essential differences between each member of both pairs, particularly in reference to the newer white or western manifestations of the professions. However, there are marked continuities in thought between all of them. These similarities reside in the conceptualisation of power and ability, or in relation to education and/or experience and [557] ability. Also, in the preceding quotation, the manipulation and direction of people is seen in both the modern and traditional realms as distasteful. The confusion and uncertainty of the informants in relation to Doctor and Politician are related to the mixed conceptualization of these activities. The young Blood see the activities of modern doctors and politicians as analogous to the functions and occupations of the traditional tribal leaders, generous men to whom one could go for political, economic, and social favors or for supernatural intervention.

461 This latter aspect brings us back to the topic of Priest-Clergy. Here the relationship between the modern role [165] and the traditional role is reversed. It was noted that the medicine man of the past did not necessarily forego the good

461 [765] and enjoyable life. Rather his power aided him in attaining the abilities and means to enjoy this life (in much the same fashion as a "good education" does today). Thus the young Blood's views of Priest are negative.

> (Priest) I could never be a priest. Most priests . . . they put off living. I like luxury. I wouldn't want to do without. I couldn't be a priest.
>
> (Priest) Too religious for me. You got to be a goody-goody to be a priest. I like foolin' around and stuff like that.

And, from a highly acculturated and scholarly young man,

> (Priest) Yes, we need a lot of them on the Reserve. (Question--Would you?) Umm, nope. I don't think I could give up the material things.

Many other examples could be cited. These quotations would seem to indicate that the young Blood see Doctor, Priest-Clergy, and Politician in much the same manner, and they might be thought of as a conceptual unit. All three hover around the fifty per cent mark in expressed opinion, which would indicate that the young Blood are undecided about them. All three appear not to be evaluated in the expectable manner, in terms of the pattern derived from the acceptable I.A.'s or the pattern from the rejected I.A.'s. Indeed, in the discussion of Priest'Clergy, giving up the good life is mentioned, which contrasts markedly with the specific discussions of other rejected I.A.'s.

The indecision and deviant evaluation is thought to

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461 reflect a continuation of traditional conceptualization. Indecision, as mentioned in Chapter II, indicates that the activity is not conceptually clear, and in these cases possibly pre-empt one another's positions or conceptual areas. The different type of expressed valuation relates to this [555] confusion and to its cause. The cause is the continuing effect of the traditional concept of supernatural power, and the relationship of such power to success in general and specifically in relation to these three activities. The presence of the concept of power is thought to be illustrated in the Blood attitude toward knowledge of and about these activities, in the specific relationship between power and Medicine Man and its corollary in regard to Doctor (no persons directly denied the existence of power in relation to aboriginal curing), and in the general mistrust of Priests and Politicians. When a comparison is made between the traditional activities such as Chief Making and Medicine Man and the three contemporary activities, a significant amount of overlap and confusion is introduced. This is thought to be another indication of traditional ideational carry-over in that these activities contrast so markedly with the clear patterns of attitude and valuation in regard to the frequently accepted or rejected I.A.'s. In conclusion, it is suggested that the reason the two traditional Indian activities

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461 elicited so little opinion resides here as well. The young Blood cannot clearly distinguish between Doctor, Lawyer, or Indian Chief.

000 Notes

[1]Goldfrank, "Changing Configurations," p. 24.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ewers, The Blackfeet, p. 184. See also, Wissler, Clark, "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. VII, no. 2, J. J. Augustin, New York, 1912, and Wissler, Clark and D. C. Duvall, "Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. VII, no. 1, J. J. Augustin, New York, 1908, ad passim.

[4]Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles," ad passim.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Benedict, Ruth, "Primitive Freedom," in Margaret Mead (ed.), An Anthropologist at Work, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1959, pp. 389-390.

178 However, it is the goal of the study, as stated in Chapter I,
121 to indicate particular areas where value continuities are most obvious, and to isolate similarities between the young Blood view of the I.A.I. activities and the activities of their peers of the past. In this way it is hoped that continuities can be tied directly to certain behavioral facts, rather than to extensive ideological tenets. In order to tie the I.A.I. materials securely to the three pieces of historical material used we should briefly summarize the outcome of the I.A.I. analysis.

Over-View of I.A.I. Data

461 The three key aspects of the I.A.I. analysis were
[121] the Blood view of knowledge and experience, the Blood view of practicality, and their definition of success. These three general features serve to structure the more specific aspects of Blood valuation. Below the general type of valuation are specific concerns such as Money, and Long Run Economic Security. At the lowest level of generality are the expressions of valuation which might be called "occupational attributes." These are Excitement, Easy Work, Recognition, Generosity, Personal Mobility, and Health.

One would expect to find the opposites of these positive aspects in association with the I.A.'s rejected by today's young Blood. To a great extent we do. Lack of

461 Knowledge and Lack of Experience are the primary and most general foci of rejection. Boredom and Confinement, an inseparable pair, are also of primary importance. These three aspects so dominate the pattern of rejection that only Lack of Long Run Economic Security appears as a specific concern. However, the "occupational attributes" of the rejected I.A.'s are closely related to their positive counterparts. Drinking, Hard Tiring Work, Loss of Self Esteem, Aggression, Dirtiness, and Responsibility match closely with their positive manifestations.

That the match is not identical should not be surprising. The expressions of valuation or disvaluation occur on differing levels of generality, and when comparing the two patterns it is apparent that valuation on a higher level may preclude discourse or overt valuation on a lower level. It is equally true, especially in the negative sense, that "occupational attributes" of undesirable activities may preclude discussing their general characteristics. We find, therefore, that the Blood system of valuation focuses upon success as the primary motivating mechanism. It does so despite the fact that the value "success" was not clearly elicited in the I.A.I. response. Success underlies the more explicit statements.

181

It is quite probable that the young Blood would

181 agree that one cannot succeed without both Knowledge and Experience. They state that one cannot do that if one does not have either training or experience. This is suggested over and over again in the I.A.I. protocols. The fact that Knowledge and Experience straddle a most obvious sign of success, Money, probably indicates this orientation most strongly. This would also indicate the pragmatism or practicality of the Blood judgments. Money and Long Run Economic Success are the two highest ranking concerns exclusive of Knowledge and Experience. To both Indian and non-Indian these are practical measures of success. Thus it can be seen that the practical application of Knowledge and Experience is thought to bring about manifest rewards in the practical domain of money and finance. It might be noted here that the "learned" activities such as Automechanic and Carpenter tend toward the financial-security orientation, while the stock-raising or rodeo activities tend toward the immediate
[178] gratification of the impulse toward money. This contrast reflects a Reserve orientation or a conservative orientation in Blood valuation that is of relevance to this chapter.

461 The contention of conservatism derives further sup-
181 port from the "occupational attributes" of the valued activities. They tend to be exciting and easy, they provide personal recognition, provide a baseline for generosity, for

personal movement, and for an appearance of healthiness. These attributes indicate the relevant concerns of the young Indian during and after his pursuit of success. It would seem that these desires direct the young Blood into Reserve-oriented activities, activities appropriate to the Blood Reserve such as the stockman and rodeo hand, and activities that are easily learned through experience and observation within the Reserve community. It should be stressed that it was the Ranching, Bronc Riding, Calf Roping, and Chicken Dancing activity that evoked the strongest unqualified valuation and the most emotional involvement. It can be seen that the young Blood value things they can imagine doing with some measure of success, things they can learn and to on their Reserve, things that apply primarily to the Reserve today, things that are known and recognizable to the contemporary Reserve population.

Occupations that are unknown, that have a low success potential, or that have certain negative attributes, attributes contravening the appearance of success, are rejected. Some of these occupations are seen as purely and simply bad. This, of course, is the case of Bartender. Others, however, relate in a negative sense to the Blood value system and thereby relate to Blood history. In this area it is noticeable that Lack of Knowledge and Lack of Experience are of primary

importance. They are the reverse of the practical prerequisites to success. Thus, on the negative side occupations are rejected out-of-hand because one knows little about them and one does not care to learn. Boredom and Confinement pair with Lack of Long Run Economic Security as more specific concerns. These negative feelings contrast markedly with the positive attitudes held about freedom, excitement, health, and wealth. It is also apparent that the young Blood do not believe that hard work, especially tiring work, is virtuous. Neither will they tolerate loss of self regard. It would appear, therefore, that the young Blood do not find delayed gratification, lengthy striving, and personal restrictions to be compatible with their success-goals. It is equally clear that they do not find dirty work, heavy responsibility, or direct aggression as particularly compatible either.

From the above it may be seen that the young Blood of today have a particular pattern of valuation, and it may also be seen that this value pattern is dynamically interrelated by a number of overriding orientations. The young Blood focus on personal, intimate, and immediate rewards and behaviors. They achieve this focus within the sphere of personal striving and personal appearance, which in turn revolve about the theme of personal success. They are striving to reproduce the image of the successful Blood in their

175 883 The young men of this early period were people removed from the everyday cares of trading and counselling. The active outdoor life seems their lot and their preference. They chose to spend their time swimming their horses and riding and walking about the white man's enclosure; unconcerned and proud. Excepting for the contemporary compulsive modesty of the modern Blood, this pattern of behavior seems 178 [461] to closely represent the ideal of the young today. This unconcern for the more serious aspects of trading manifests itself today in the modern young Blood's preferences for the outdoor active occupations, the occupations with minimal investment and time requirements, and for practical cash rewards. Thus, again the modern values seem to rest upon earlier foundations. Yesterday, as today, life had its serious aspects.

175 We could plainly discern the young men driving whole herds [of buffalo] from different directions, until these came within scent of the smoke when they dispersed.[33]

[721] [648] Painted Feather's band, including thirty-three principal men arrived; there are no young men with them, for those have all been to war since the middle of last month toward the Rocky Mountains, in search of Snake Indians, and are expected to return soon.[34]

578 175 A band of Blackfeet arrived, loaded with fresh buffalo meat. They informed us of a quarrel between Painted Feather's band and the Cold band, caused by a woman who had been debauched from the latter; the young men belonging to the former went for her; a dispute rose, four of the party were wounded, and the woman shot in the leg. This affair has caused the Cold band to separate from the others.[35]

175 555 Despite further protestations on the part of Schultz, he did not go. Faced with the emotional explication of the complex relationship between manliness, horse raiding, ethnic identity and shame, he could not overcome his wife's logic. This lengthy statement is remarkably revealing for [562] our topic. Masculinity is one of the facets of economic well-being, yet one does not courageously steal horses if one does not need them or the attendant prestige (note that Schultz had everything he wanted). Recognition for such acts is given only among Indians, Schultz' people had never gone skulking about the prairie, thus he could not achieve 626 useful notoriety from such action. "You have no shame," 175 "you should be ashamed," accuses Apikuni's wife, indicating that the strongest control of excess or foolishness among the Indians is a man's consciousness of shame or pride.[1] One cannot have masculine pride and self esteem and behave shamefully.

461 178 To return momentarily to the I.A.I. data, it is apparent that the function of shame is today similar to what it was in the early and late 1800's. It would be shameful to be a brawling boxer, it would be shameful to be a hostile liquor vendor, it would be shameful to be indoors selling food to poor Indians, and, could one be proud of inept fancy 175 dancing? Apikuni, in this instance, has pointed to the 181

A. ["Apikuni" is the Blackfoot name for James Willard Schultz--Analyst]

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121 view. The numerical significance of experience and knowl-
125 edge in the choices of the informants was thought to be a strong indication of the success strivings of the young Blood.

461 To emphasize their distinctiveness these success strivings of the young Blood were compared with the occupational goals of American college students, and it was found that the young Blood did not assess the world of work in the same manner as did the young Americans. Most significantly, the Blood could not or would not discuss activities about which they had little or no knowledge whereas the young Americans held forth on a wide variety of occupational topics, many of which they understood poorly or not at all. The young Blood emphasized the particular rewards and the pragmatic signs of success, while the American college student tended to speak in terms of a continuing life style and of the occupation influencing some aspects of their personality. Thus, although both groups saw success in the light of their own personal experience, there is a marked contrast in the ways they saw success. The Blood restrict themselves to what they know and to the immediate and practical signs of success, while the American college student is much wider in scope, ranging over professions about which he knows little and seeing his occupational life providing him with a con-

121 tinuing life style and personal attributes. This contrast indicates the importance of knowledge and experience to the personal success goals of the Blood.

461 Second, success relates to the practical rewards for any achievement. It was noted in Chapter III that among the most frequently cited reasons for acceptance were good wages and economic security. Further, money and security appeared to be direct rewards for successful striving. Rodeo prize money, chicken dance contest rewards, pay for haying, and pay for successful achievement in many activities were all looked upon in this manner. It appears, particularly as mentioned above, that the young Blood look upon some aspects of success as a *"cash and carry" enterprise*.

Third, among the manifest rewards for success are a number of physical and social attributes. Not only does the successful Blood have things of monetary value, but he projects an image which indicates success. This image is not to be confused with the continuing life-way mentioned 461 in regard to the American college student. Instead it ap- 181 plies to aspects of success related to the young Blood's concerns over good health, good physical condition, good hard work, the need for activity and mobility, and in a negative sense, the loss of the good life in relation to inactivity. Injury, aggression, physical injury which

461 181 deforms or scars, unhealthiness, and uncleanliness are other negative aspects of these concerns. In relation to both valued and disvalued activities these concerns over personal appearance are important, and they would seem to indicate a third dimension to Blood Indian success.

Finally, it is important to note that these modes of achieving success are all relevant to the Blood Indian community and are not dependent upon the external systems of social reward. It is important also to note the very personal nature of these rewards. Today, therefore, the young Blood strives for success in the activities he knows, in immediate and personal terms among his own people, people who apparently appreciate success in these terms.

Success in the Past

181 178 175 The success theme appears to have been important in the past also. Many quotations cited in the preceding chapter indicate this. Thompson noted the "peegans'" pride in personal appearance and their "haughtiness of character." A Also, in relating the story of the horse stealing raid, the theme of the story was practical success in making off with horses without leaving one's scalp. B A Later in time there is considerable evidence of the success motive in the writings of Schultz. His comments upon the praise and pride expressed by the loved ones of the young warriors and the story of

A, B, [See Category 175, pp. 146 & 144-145 respectively--Analyst]

181 "Handsome-man" of the Blood indicate a continuation of these
178 attitudes from the beginning of the nineteenth century through
175 to the latter part of the century.[A] Indeed, the most important bit of evidence in this regard is the story of the murder-suicide as a result of competition in the hand game.[B] Also, as indicated by this episode, gambling had been a
175 157 Blood-Blackfoot trait for a considerable period of time.
[525] This lends more support to the idea of continuity, and to
[178] the proposition that sporting competition was an early and
[526] continuing feature of the daily lives of the Indians of the northern plains. This contention derives much support from ethnographic evidence, in that almost all adult games
[525] recorded were competitive rather than diversionary.[1] Thus the gambling incident was not unusual, despite Schultz' contention to the contrary, and the kind of gambling that leaves a man destitute and ashamed indicates a strong bent toward competition.

181 This kind of competition would seem to conflict
178 with the contemporary value of avoiding direct and disruptive
461 competition as illustrated in the disvalue of the activity Boxing. However, it is asserted that this is merely one of the contradictory demands placed upon the individual by many cultures. This contradiction can be seen in the past in the demands of the community in warfare and horse stealing and the needs of the individual. It can be seen in the present

A. [See Category 175, pp. 168-170--Analyst]
B. [See Category 525, pp. 172-174--Analyst]

181 day in the valuation of ambivalence toward Bronc Riding. It
178 would seem that it merely makes the direct rewards for success
461 a little more dear, and indicates how strong the personal success strivings must have been and are today.

181 Further evidence for the existence of the desire
175 to succeed in early Blood life is found in the uncomfortable position of Alexander Henry, the Hudson's Bay trader. Insolence, theft, and tireless begging would not seem to be characteristic of a proud or haughty people. However, if one grants that Henry was an outsider, if one grants that success in the past had to be viable in practical Blood terms as it is today, then it must be admitted that such character traits are not anomalous after all. In Henry's narrative it is mentioned that inter-tribal warfare was important, that there was a violent incident involving competition for women, and that the considerable independence of action among the Indian people made it tedious to trade with these peoples.[A] Considering these aspects of Indian culture it is not surprising to find the individual Indian plaguing the trader, stealing from him, and pillaging the trader's friends
556 and neighbors. The goal of the Indian of this era would
175 seem to be the accumulation of capital goods which could
181 be used in social exchanges and in other ways to enhance
178 the prestige of the individual Indian among his own people.

A, [See Category 175, pp. 151-154--Analyst]

181 Thus, although there are a few statements indicating that
177 the informant would not mind leaving the Reserve community, none of the I.A.'s are selected because they remove the individual from the Reserve. The young Blood are looking toward success in their present environment.

They look toward local success with a practical eye upon the occupational applicability to the Reserve environment. They look with favor upon those activities that can be learned on the Reserve, those that are commonly practiced in and around the Reserve, and those that are familiar to individuals from the Reserve. Of all the acceptable I.A.'s only Office Worker does not fit this pattern, and Office Worker is rejected more frequently than it is favored. Therefore, we find that the young Blood expresses many reasons for not speculating about the unfamiliar among the instrumental activities; not only is it hard to succeed in the unfamiliar, it is impractical to try.

461
181 The final aspect of young Blood practicality relates to the required attributes of the occupation. As mentioned above, it is neither personality requirements nor continuing style of life that concern the young Blood. They are primarily concerned with what they as individuals will have to do to succeed in the activity. They are concerned with prerequisites, limitations, liabilities, and to them, certain

461 181 inherent impossibilities that are part of the "real" occupational world. To a young Blood, it would seem, having "no education for that," having "no horse to ride, no cows to rope," or having "never seen nobody do that before," are insurmountable actual obstacles. In a very real and practical sense, no Blood does anything just to be working or doing something. Activity is not good for its own sake, it should lead to some real and identifiable achievement. Further, in regard to the various attributes of the activities portrayed in the I.A.I., each occupation is composed of a cluster of desirable and undesirable attributes. The young Blood appear to sort these on what he considers to be practical and other grounds and then rank the activity on the basis of success potential and practicality. Thus we are again faced with the impossibility of viewing Blood instrumental values as separable entities and are presented with the mutual support of these attitudinal orientations one to another.

181 This aspect of practicality is best illustrated by the specificity of the attributes of the successful Blood. The young man striving for success is looking for a specific occupation which he conceives of as having specific rewards. These specific rewards are neither speculative nor

461 Valued Occupational Attributes

Here we turn to the various specific instrumental values and disvalues held by today's young Blood and the relationship of these values to those reconstructed for the Blood of the past. Initially we shall discuss the values elicited in relation to the acceptable activities.

Acceptable Activity Attributes

Among the accepted Instrumental Activities two levels of valuation appeared in the analytical chapters. They were activities of general value and activities valued because of specific rewards or specific attributes. Although less prominent, a similar pattern emerged among the rejected activities. The activities that were most valued on the general level were the stock rearing activities, while the best example of a generally disvalued activity is Bartending. It is noticeable that the focus of this generalized type of valuation is on the acceptable activities and upon activities generally engaged in on the Blood Reserve.

Other activities, activities which appear more related to the outside, white man's world, generally elicited more qualification, more comment. If they were thought of as "good" they were thought of as being good for a number of reasons. Among the very popular activities, Automechanic

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and Carpenter fall into this category. These two activities are accepted on the most practical of grounds--good wages, economic security, recognition, and self-sufficiency. These kinds of reasons for acceptance are essentially goal oriented. It is the end result of the activity which influences the young Blood in his judgment. Statements relating to goals or objectives are of central importance in Ralph White's value-analysis technique. The various goal statements indicate the values of the individual producing the protocol under analysis. The same stance is maintained here; goals and instrumental values are defined as self-evidently desirable and can be used interchangeably.[3] In the examples just mentioned, Automechanic and Carpenter, practical goals or values tip the scale toward acceptance. In regard to Carpenter, however, other values are also important. These values are "independence," "self-satisfaction," and "physical activity" (see Chapter III). These are not practical values according to White. They fall into other goal categories, goal categories which are of singular importance in understanding the young Blood's system of valuation.

There are three types of non-practical goals in White's technique: "playful goals," "physiological goals," and "egoistic goals."[4] Each of these other goal categories

46 [121] is mentioned in the attributes of the various acceptable I.A.'s. Among the generally popular activities playful goals such as excitement, enjoyment, and "sport" are mentioned. All of the acceptable activities have one or more physiological goal attributes; easy work, physical activity, good health, and, in a negative sense, avoidance of injury. Egoistic goals are mentioned too: independence, freedom from boredom or confinement, and self-satisfaction.

That these non-practical goals are important is quite evident. Three I.A.'s--four if we include the less popular Calf Roping--are judged acceptable primarily on playful, physiological, and egoistic value criteria. Indeed, all the activities selected by the young Blood as "favorites," with the exception of Farming and Automechanic, are selected with emphasis upon these criteria (following knowledge and experience, naturally). The activities so selected are: Haying, Carpenter, Bronc Rider, Ranching, Calf Roping, Boxer, Office Worker, and Chicken Dancer. Thus the generally valued activities, the favorites, and several specific I.A.'s are judged on criteria of self-evident value characteristics which are not of the practical type. The use of these non-practical values indicates the nature of the relationship between the success orientation, practicality, and participation in the good life. It also describes why

461 181 it is better to be successful at some things, the generally valued, than it is to be successful at other things, the specifically valued. The young Blood tend to value things for their intrinsic qualities as well as for their practical attributes in terms of success or worth. What one does is important not only because of the relationship between certain occupations and success, but because of the intrinsic qualities of some occupations. Many occupations are engaged in on the Reserve, and these tend to be the "good" occupations. Among these occupations there are those that are seen to have qualities that are self evidently desirable. It is this latter group that are the ones most frequently judges "generally good." This is a clear demonstration of the immediacy of the young Blood's success strivings and instrumental values. How the individual reaches success is as relevant to the outcome as the outcome itself. This is most aptly demonstrated in the ambivalent valuation of Boxing and Office Worker. The response to these activities is divided on the basis of the two criteria: practical success and how to attain it.

175 [178] [883] There is much evidence of similar valuation in the data from the past. Both practical and non-practical values appear to operate in the events chronicled by Thompson, Henry, and Schultz. One of the best indications is in

121 discussed above are closely tied to the disvalues of the young Blood, and it has also been maintained that the disvalues are in many ways the mirror image of their positive counterparts.

461 The frequently rejected I.A.'s and those that are less often rejected share a reverse relation to the good life and the practical concerns about success in comparison to the accepted I.A.'s. This is amply demonstrated by the tables enumerating the reasons for accepting or rejecting activities (see Chapter III).[A] Because of this it would seem impractical to outline the disvalues in the fashion of the values. Instead, it would seem more important to isolate the characteristics of the instrumental activities that activate these disvalues.

First we must note the high frequency of no response in relation to the disvalued activities. This indicates the unfamiliarity and reluctance to discuss these activities which has been mentioned previously. There is another element of significance in this lack of judgments or opinions. This relates to the reason for the unfamiliarity. The two I.A.'s with the highest number of no responses (exclusive of the I.E.'s eliminated from analysis on this basis) are Politician and Priest. Closely following them is Doctor. Then, after a considerable gap, come Barber and Cook. The

A, [See Category 461, pp. 63, 65--Analyst]

461 most noticeable aspect of these activities is that they are all performed off the Reserve, and primarily by non-Indians. On the basis of the figures in Table 10 of Chapter III it is clear that these activities are roundly disliked and ignored.[A] Why?

Politician, Priest, and Doctor are activities once combined in one role in Blood life, that of Medicine Man. It is important to note that Medicine Man as an Instrumental Activity is the object of highly ambivalent judgments. This, as pointed out in the last half of Chapter IV, indicates the Blood's inability to distinguish clearly between each of the modern activities (Politician, Doctor, or Priest) and the traditional activity (Medicine Man). This is another possible indication of continuity.

The reasons given for rejecting Barber and Cook are quite different. These activities are thought of as boring and confining. Cook is perceived to be in conflict with one's masculine image, the image of a successful Blood, while Barber is thought to be unrewarding and dirty. These reasons for rejection contravene the playful, physiological, and egoistic values so important to the young Blood; the values associated with the activities judged "generally good."

From these examples it can be inferred that the

A. [i.e., Chapter II; see Category 461, p. 48--Analyst]

young Blood used similar criteria in judging both the activities they value and those they disvalue, and that it is the activity that influences the judgment and not a new set of values. This is true with two exceptions, Bartender and the three confused activities mentioned above. As explained, the discrimination between the latter three is poor and thus adds substance to the general unfamiliarity with the occupations. Bartender, as explained in Chapter III is an anti-social role to the young Blood. They appear to feel that it is implausible to think of social achievement through Bartending. For these reasons it is possible to see the rejected activities as being judged under the same criteria as the acceptable -ut found wanting. They are unfamiliar, they are impractical in Blood terms, both in the "cash and carry" economic sense and in the sense of being a practical vehicle to the appearance of a successful Blood, and the characteristics of the activities preclude realizing the non-practical goals of instrumental activities. The rejected activities involve situations and activities that preclude the attainment of Blood goals in Blood terms. We may conclude then that any activity which is unfamiliar, which is not oriented toward the Reserve, that is confining, that might be confused with women's work, that is dirty or injurious, or that in any way contrasts with

461 the non-practical values of the Blood will be rejected by a large segment of the Blood population. Again, this rejection is best illustrated by Boxer and Office Worker--activities that are at the same time favorites and rejects.

Because the criteria of judgment are the same in both positive and negative judgments, we may infer the existence of similarities in rejection in the past to the present. The attributes of such activities as Storekeeper, Cook, Barber, Priest, etc. would have been rejected in 1850 as they are today, it is assumed. This is apparent in the relationship between the acceptable and rejected activities, and it is demonstrated in Schultz' statement: "they would say to you, 'Your white man has a woman's heart; why don't you make some dresses for him?'"[6]

Conclusion

121 178 Throughout this study it has been consistently maintained that continuities in valuation do exist. The exploratory testing of this assertion involved discovering attitudes and values in both the past and the present, an attempt fraught with difficulty. Nevertheless some evidence has been produced indicating such continuities. However, it cannot be maintained that the existence of such continuities

[81] This was brought out many times in the examples of I.A.I. responses. Indeed, the young Blood seemed not to care. "I don't mind that," was a typical answer. Thus decisions are not final, and almost all the young men indicated a number of alternatives to their favorite choices. And, they did not seem committed to any one of them.

It would seem that this kind of opportunism and [461] operationalism would have three noticeable effects. First, the transitory attractiveness of various activities would preclude the young Blood from selecting activities from the white man's world which demand lengthy schooling and considerable personal commitment. Second, it would reinforce the orientation of the young Blood toward their community because of the conflict between this type of valuation and that of the demands of employment in the outside community. And, third, it should provide the baseline for moderate success in a number of activities which would provide the individual with the image of the successful Blood while still allowing for the freedom and playfulness so evident in the selection of the generally valued activities. Rather than specialize in instrumental activities it is more practical in Blood terms to maintain flexibility, a flexibility allowing for renewed efforts following failure and the avoidance of loss of recognition and the avoidance of ridicule.